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REPORT

NOV 12 1924

OF THE

FOURTH CONGRESS

OF THE

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

Washington

May 1 to 7, 1924



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Preface

The following pages report the proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Of the twenty National Sections which had made up the League nineteen were represented, only New Zealand being lacking; and during the sessions four new Sections were admitted: Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Haiti, and Japan, all represented except Haiti. There were besides delegates from affiliated countries, fraternal delegates, members, and visitors.

There was perhaps less discussion than at previous Congresses owing to the fact that most of the European delegates met with a small committee from the United States in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, for a week preceding the Congress. During this time while the program of the Congress was being prepared, many of the League's policies were fully discussed and afterwards were presented as resolutions to the Congress with the recommendations of the Executive Committee. Such resolutions represented the findings of a group of fifty people including the Consultative Members from eighteen different countries.

In every organization essentially federal in type its congresses are the critical moments in its life when it reports its achievements and decides upon its policies. The importance of a federal congress is especially emphasized in an organization which is international. Its members are widely scattered during the intervening years, and they inevitably react to very dissimilar social and political surroundings. Such dissimilarities have been very marked during the period of upheaval following the great war, especially in those countries whose political and territorial bases have been fundamentally altered by post-war events. Because of these difficulties inherent in the very structure of international organizations many such bodies since the great war have debarred from their congresses any discussion of political questions. On the other hand the Women's International League from the very nature of its aims is committed to a consideration of these

subjects. The League strives to arrive at its conclusions not by the easier methods of eliminating difficult topics nor by suppressing full debate nor even by an effort to compromise between differing opinions, but by the bolder processes evoked when the stimulus-response formula is applied to a group and results in genuine collective activity, or to use the Quaker formula, by a patient effort to obtain the consent of the meeting through an integration of all points of view. The attempt to apply such a method to the consideration of the post-war situation is naturally much easier for the members of a group like ours who through all the years of war propaganda succeeded in keeping themselves free from animosity. Our delegates had the added advantage that they had come together in their first congresses—at The Hague in 1915 and at Zürich in 1919—under the pressure of a war psychology essentially alike in all countries, and almost identical in its reaction upon the individual opposed to war itself as a human institution. The delegates to the Washington Congress in 1924, as those to the Vienna Congress in 1921, therefore encountered the effects of their widely differing experiences obtained since the war, with a settled background of identity of war experience added to their consciousness of fellowship.

The Women's International League has always avoided in its congresses a mere repetition of first principles, and has tried to proceed from the place in which it has found itself at the time of its meetings. Obviously each congress cannot begin at the beginning and formulate anew the points of its continuing program. And yet we have discovered that always to assume that the fundamentals of our position are well known is to take too much for granted. For this reason it was decided to prepare a Manifesto for the Washington Congress restating the general principles for which the Women's International League stands, and at the same time to focus the Congress upon a consideration of what sort of an international order, stated in the light of the experiences and opinions of our National Sections, we should agree upon as one which would make war both unnecessary and impossible. All of our members have found it hard to see society settling back into the old grooves which had so surely led to the great catastrophe. Many of them felt that the time had come when nothing could be more useful than to try to visualize an organization of the world in which the economic, social, and psychological causes of war as well as the political ones would

be eliminated by the release of positive influences and by the substitution of more human motivations for those which had so miserably failed.

Most of the addresses were devoted to different aspects of this New International Order, and the program or "Cahier de la Paix"—reported after devoted work by a committee with headquarters in Paris to whom the matter had been referred—was received with great interest and was submitted to the National Sections for their consideration. The "practical" Americans were careful not to overweight the discussion by availing themselves of the advantage which, owing to the accident of geography, gave to Canada and the United States the largest delegations. But even those least inclined by temperament to abstract and theoretical considerations could not fail to remember how largely the war was kept going by abstract and theoretical slogans; they could but recall what an opiate to scruples as well as a stimulus to continued military activity was offered by the dream of world reconstruction which would more than make good the unspeakable ravages of war.

The Congress was followed by a Summer School held in Chicago from May 17 to 30. Its undoubted success was due to the organizing ability and devotion of the Chicago Branch of the United States Section. The New International Order was continued as the subject of the Summer School. As its prospectus promised, "every effort was made to emphasize those fields in which agreement has been obtained and to set forth the constantly widening range of international cooperation." Only the program of the School is given in this report, but it is planned to issue separate lectures from time to time as bulletins from the Geneva office, beginning with one by James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, upon The Race Problem and Peace; also one by Frau Augusta Kirchoff of Bremen upon Anti-Semitism—an Aftermath of War.

The widest publicity and certainly the most pronounced opposition to the efforts of our League came in connection with the "Pax Special," a private car with a perhaps unfortunate name, which accommodated twenty-five of the foreign delegates who with Miss Amy Woods, Secretary of the United States Section, and Mrs. Nelson Trimble as organizer, went from Washington to Chicago, and after the Summer School from Chicago to

Montreal, the port from which many of the European delegates sailed. The "Pax Special" stopped at various cities en route, for public meetings had been arranged in twenty cities of the United States and Canada as an essential part of the plan for the Washington Congress.

There was no marked opposition in the press to those meetings which were held in New England and in New York before the Congress nor to those held in Baltimore and Philadelphia immediately following it. The opposition became pronounced after the "Pax Special" left the latter city, and culminated in the state of Ohio. Some of the opposition doubtless rested upon honest misunderstanding of the purposes of the organization and of the Washington Congress. Much of it, however, was obviously manufactured, and the identical preposterous misinformation was sent from one city to another. Striking items of this misinformation, furnished by a librarian employed in the Chemical Warfare Department of the War Department in Washington, were sent out in such a way as to appear to have the sanction of the government although the Secretary of War had definitely repudiated it to the League of Women Voters who were somewhat involved in certain of the misstatements. Heated opposition to the idea of the meetings of the Women's International League was naturally thus aroused in one city after another. In no city, however, in which a public meeting for the international delegates had been planned was it altogether abandoned, although it was sometimes necessary to modify its form. It was interesting to observe that the opposition vanished as soon as the speakers appeared and delivered their sane and helpful messages of good will and international cooperation. The reports in the press of the actual meetings were strikingly unlike the prognostications headlined in the same newspapers for days preceding the meetings. The twenty cities which heard the group of international speakers—in addition to Swarthmore, Washington, and Chicago, where official meetings were held—were New York, Boston, Worcester, Springfield, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Dayton, Indianapolis, Buffalo, Niagara, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal.

It is hoped this volume will reach readers who have known nothing of the Women's International League, but it is unfortunately impossible to give its history here. Such readers can

get full information at the offices of the National Sections most conveniently reached (for addresses see page 161), or from the International Office, Maison Internationale, 6 rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva, Switzerland. It may be well to explain that the Maison Internationale is a charming old house with a garden, in the heart of Geneva (within three minutes' walk of the hall where the Assembly of the League of Nations holds its sessions), and that it not only provides international headquarters for the Women's International League, but makes rooms with board available to friends—not necessarily members—visiting Geneva and interested in making international connections.

JANE ADDAMS.

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Officers and Executive Committee
of the
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
July, 1921, to May, 1924

Jane Addams, President.

Lida Gustava Heymann, Vice President.

Catherine E. Marshall, Vice President.

Emily G. Balch, Secretary-Treasurer to December,
1922.

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann, Assistant Secretary;
after December, 1922, Financial Secretary.

Gertrud Baer.

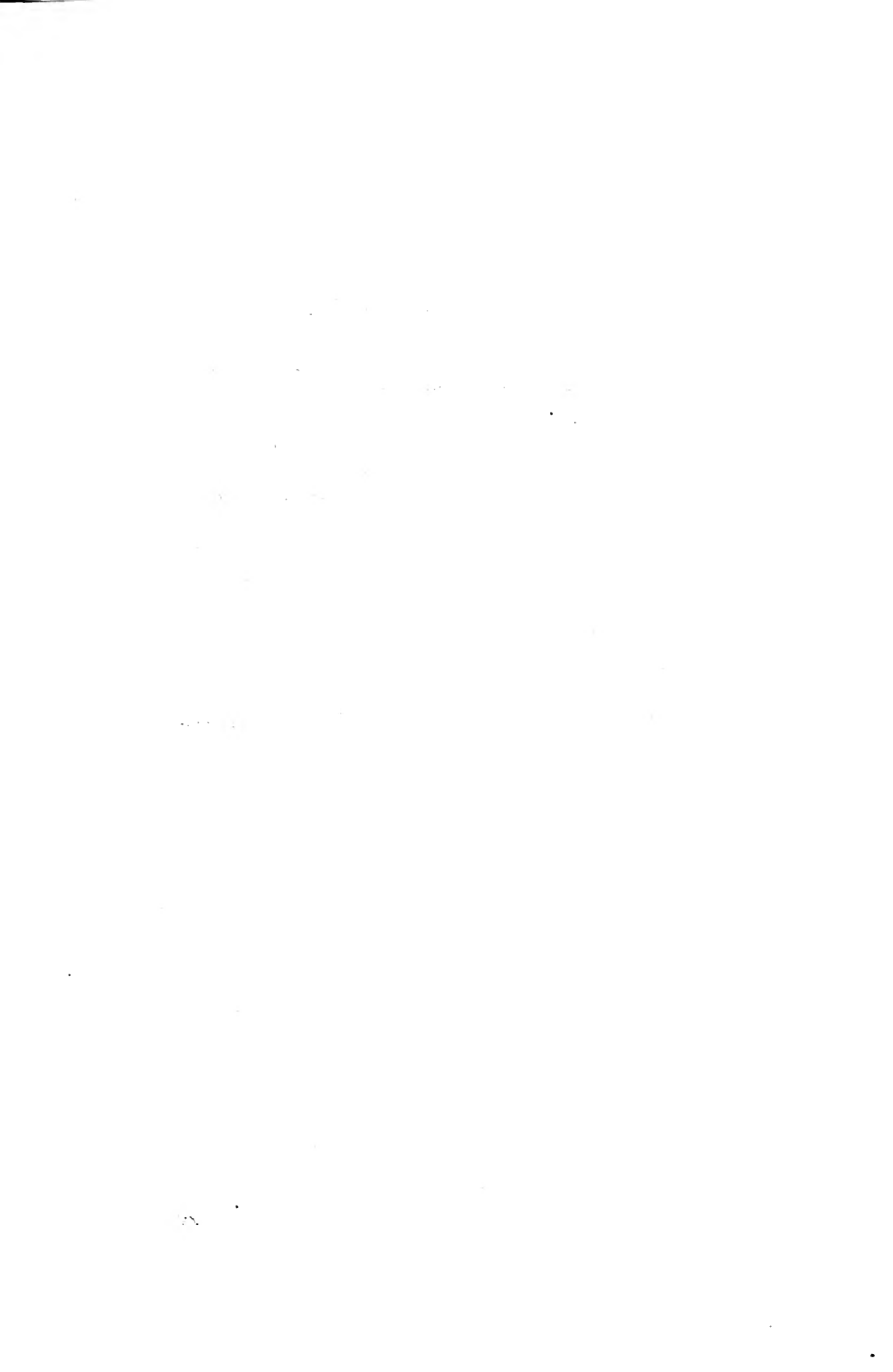
Thora Daugaard.

Lucie Dejardin.

Gabrielle Duchêne.

Yella Hertzka.

Vilma Glücklich, Headquarters Secretary, Decem-
ber, 1922, to May, 1924.



Proceedings

**Weekday Sessions in Hall of Nations, Washington Hotel
Washington, U. S. A.**

Thursday, May 1, to Wednesday, May 7, 1924

Daily dates have been omitted in this Report of the Proceedings, as the program order could not always be strictly followed and some addresses were made out of their due course. In such cases the intended logical program order has here been adhered to. The proceedings are necessarily given in greatly condensed form.

Opening Address

By Jane Addams, International President

It gives me great pleasure to announce the opening of the Fourth Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which we can almost call our fifth, as we also convened the emergency Conference held at The Hague in December, 1922. Will you permit me to report, in the midst of chaos and disaster still obtaining in many parts of the world, here and there an attempt to live according to the principles of a New International Order.

Austria has freely renounced a piece of Hungarian territory assigned her by the Peace Treaty; we recall the success in Holland of opposition to the proposed naval expansions; the decision of the British Government to abandon the construction of a naval base at Singapore; the Gandhi demonstration that a national movement for self-determination may be successfully conducted by moral energy ignoring brute force; the conference on Naval Disarmament in Washington with its practical results; the withdrawal of the Japanese from the Chinese province of Shantung; the rising peace movement throughout the churches and theological schools; the "No More War" movement, rapidly increasing in so many countries; the Peace resolutions of the International Education Conference held in San Francisco in 1923; the new note of decision in the Peace Committees connected with all women's organizations; the announcement of President Coolidge ten days ago that he contemplates calling a world conference for further limitation of armaments and the initiation of plans for the codification of international law.

In offering you this welcome I am speaking in a dual capacity

as it were. First, as your international officer and servant, and second, as an American citizen. To my mind these dual roles do not conflict. I am not of those who believe that devotion to international aims interferes with love of country, any more than devotion to family detracts from good citizenship; rather as Mazzini pointed out, the duties of family, nation, and humanity are but concentric circles. In this latter capacity, I am sorry to speak a word of apology. Ever since you landed some of you must have felt certain currents of intolerance never before encountered at our previous Congresses. May I assure you that Americans are not by nature and training less tolerant than the people in those other countries, who treated us with such fine and unvarying courtesy. But a survival of war psychology is an unaccountable thing; it constitutes a new indictment, if one were needed, of the devastating effects of war upon human character. Perhaps it was too soon to hold our Congress on American soil. Possibly we ought to have accepted the invitation of our British Section to meet in London, where free speech and free assemblage are once more firmly reestablished. In this situation there may be local features. A newspaper in Washington and one in Cincinnati, published by the same man, may have special reasons for diverting attention from national affairs to international dangers, quite as foreign wars have been fomented when the demands for internal reforms have become uncomfortably pressing.

But I beg of you not to take this situation too seriously. The American delegation does not, for it knows only too well how easily newspaper attacks are manufactured and how ephemeral is the consequence of such attacks. Perhaps you will permit me to illustrate this: When in the interests of the League I was in London in 1915 the business portion of that great town was everywhere placarded by huge posters, black on a yellow ground, which fairly shouted to the passerby, "To the Tower with Ramsay Macdonald," "The Pacifist to the Tower," etc. These placards had been put up by one Horatio Bottomley, the editor of "John Bull," who is, as our English delegates know, at present in jail, in the Tower himself, so to speak, while at the same moment Ramsay Macdonald is Prime Minister of England. It proves once more, does it not, that this old world of ours, which does not always progress, certainly always turns around and that night and day alternate with fair regularity.

One thing I should very much deprecate; I should be in despair if you were frightened and inhibited so that instead of a real Congress with a genuine discussion, we should have a sort of dress parade Congress, with a pretended discussion and an expression of half-convictions. The world does not need more of that kind of talk and our League is much too serious and too vital to indulge in it. You European women from Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, and the rest, have suffered too much, you have known war and starvation too intimately to come here to merely say that which will placate and reassure us. May I also add, that as you speak from your hearts, from the depths of your own experiences, as you have in other Congresses, that you will find a tremendous response throughout the length and breadth of this wide land of ours. In churches, in colleges, in cities, and on farms, there is at last arising an overwhelming demand that war shall cease, and more than that, that the United States shall lead in a movement to this end.

This beautiful capital city of ours does not always know what the people want, although it tries so hard to find out!

My father was a warm friend of Abraham Lincoln, his colleague in the Illinois legislature. He brought up his children in the belief that Lincoln's kindness and tolerance and understanding of all men, including his official enemies, represented the highest point of achievement on the American continent. May I open this Congress, therefore, with Lincoln's words, in the form of a prayer, if you will, for although we swear not at all, we do sometimes say our prayers:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on
* * * do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting
Peace among ourselves and with all Nations."

Minutes, with Reports, Speeches and Future Plans

Since the German and Austrian delegates all spoke English it was agreed that French and English should be the languages used, with translation from each language into the other, and that translation should be made into German when called for.

Previous rules of order were adopted, with the addition of a voting card to be raised by delegates when voting.

The President announced that Lida Gustava Heymann was in charge of the full report of the Congress, and résumés of speeches should be given to her.

An emergency resolution to be sent at once to France and Germany relative to their elections about to be held, was presented by Gabrielle Duchêne on behalf of the French Section, and by Lida Gustava Heymann on behalf of the German Section, and because of its urgency was immediately passed by the Congress without the delay of being sent to the Resolutions Committee.*

Reports from National Sections and Affiliated Groups

During the Congress the following were admitted as National Sections: Czecho-Slovakia with two branches acting jointly, Belgium, Japan, and Haiti.

Edith A. Waterworth: The Australian Section has been in the work from the start, though we did not take the name until 1920. We have kept in close touch, have paid our financial contribution, and have had a delegate at Zurich in 1919 (Eleanor Moore), at Vienna in 1921 (Margaret Thorp), at Washington in 1924 (Edith Waterworth). We have kept going with meetings and propaganda work. The League at headquarters has special committees on Education; they are always collecting information and presenting it to members. The organization of the League is in some ways rather loose. Being put together during the war we were glad to get members on almost any terms. The Victorian Branch (headquarters at Melbourne) has, so far, with its branches at Hobart and Rockhampton, been the Australian Section. The main reason for the sending of a delegate to the Washington Congress is that she may carry back some definite ideas as to the best methods of pursuing the work of establishing our ideal of peace and freedom.

Lotte Heller: Austria has been taught a very severe lesson by the war. From a so-called powerful empire it has become quite a small country, the number of its inhabitants amounting to that of one of your great cities. Austria has been taught the importance of real international understanding, as it is dependent for everything upon its surrounding neighbors.

The Austrian Section has worked for the principles of the last Conference at The Hague in National and International

* See Resolutions passed by the Congress on page 137.

respects. Though Austria has not even reached the allowed limit of thirty thousand soldiers, the two great political parties began to arm themselves in order to fight out their political differences. The progressive party of social democrats as well as the reactionary party of the Christian socialists gave weapons to their adherents, and there happened some severe accidents as a consequence of disarmament. On a Sunday afternoon a workman named Birnecker was shot. The Austrian Section of the Women's International League formed a committee with several other Pacifist organizations, and sent a delegation to the President of the Republic, Dr. Hainisch, and asked him to intervene for disarmament. The press took up the report about this delegation, and the leaders of the different political parties met and for the first time discussed the situation. Now things have improved very much and we believe this to be the consequence of our proceedings.

We think our most important task is to prepare a revolution in the minds, spirits, and hearts of men. It is only by the great ideal of peace impressed on the mass of people that we can acquire and keep peace.

Yella Hertzka said that the Austrian Section was divided into several groups working on different lines. There was a political group, a social group, and a working-class group. The Austrian Section had taken action when the frontier question arose between Hungary and Austria. Hungary was dissatisfied with the boundaries fixed by the treaty, and the Women's International League asked the Austrian parliament to give a little more land to Hungary in order to prevent war. The Socialist party afterwards took the same view and war was averted. This year the political group is working on legislative reform for the safeguarding of peace. This group is also in close touch with the great union of former soldiers, working with them on No More War demonstrations. The working-class group has tried to create a school for working women, but could not adjust the hours to suit the women's husbands.

Lucie Dejardin: The Belgian Section was reorganized in 1923 after the visit of Catherine Marshall and Jeanne Mélin, and has requested admission to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in the year 1924. Léonie La Fontaine had been elected President.

The propaganda will be carried on by means of public lectures.

A formal request will be sent to the Burgomaster of the City of Brussels for permission to organize a National Peace Day on which young people—student organizations—will be asked to sell flowers and take up collections. The day will also be used to make a great effort to get members.

The Belgian Section would be in favor of a Society of Peoples which would establish free trade, and of some sort of United States of Europe which would agree to have recourse to the League of Nations to solve all differences that might arise between nations. It also favors the entrance into the League of Nations of Germany and of the United States which is capable of rendering such effective assistance to Europe when it is a question of peace. The cooperation of America is essential to the reestablishment of the social, moral, and economic equilibrium of Europe.

The Belgian Section appeals to the women of all countries assembled at this Congress to interest themselves more and more in pacifist propaganda to counteract the militarist and nationalist spirit prevailing everywhere. Pacifist women should demand a reform of education, children being still too often brought up and educated in a militarist spirit which easily develops a spirit of hatred for other peoples. Let the women of the whole world by their spirit of good-will and solidarity exert pressure on the governments; let them cooperate in a great propaganda for the League of Nations, and for a pledge from all governments that when any difference arises, no matter of what sort, they will compulsorily submit it to one of the judicial organs of the League of Nations, and accept its decision, thus making wars impossible.

Women have it in their power to secure the peace of the world and make it permanent.

Catherine P. Karavéloff: Little suffering Bulgaria sends the most cordial greeting to her noble sisters of the United States, where the great Wilson was born, lived, and died, after having given to the world his immortal viewpoints. He died, but his ideals for humanity live and must live forever. Little suffering Bulgaria waits for their fulfillment. She waits for justice and right.

I plead for justice, that is, for universal peace. For we have not yet got it. It only exists on paper in the peace treaties, and not in reality. The whole of the Bulgarian people from our young king to the most humble shepherd in our country, where

three-quarters are agriculturalists only, ask to live in peace with all peoples whether near or far, great or small. They only wish to work in the fields and to cultivate their minds. They are tired of struggles and of misfortunes. Pacifists as they are and wish to remain, they have not a day of rest and tranquillity. During this year there have been disturbances which have been crushed by arms. The various philanthropic societies, and amongst them the Bulgarian Section of the Women's International League, have done their utmost to help the suffering families. The students in the University at Sofia have given their help with unexampled devotion. Before my departure unarmed Bulgaria was threatened with an armed attack. On the frontier the population lives in a perpetual state of terror. Every day fresh refugees flee to us and become a burden for the mother country, both financially and politically. These are the fruits of the Treaty of Peace for us. Tomorrow I will speak of the political situation of Bulgaria. You understand that under such conditions the Bulgarian Section cannot work, as it would wish, to fulfill its duty as a section of the International League for Peace and Freedom.

Before ending I cannot pass over in silence one deplorable fact. Bulgaria has always believed fervently in the fair promises and words of the Entente. Today she is crushed by grievous disillusion and doubt, and I ask you to listen to the poignant cry of her heart.

Give us back our faith—you, the noble women of great and powerful America and you representatives of all the countries; unite your efforts and help us to free ourselves from doubt of civilization, justice, and humanity.

Alice E. Loeb: The work of education along lines of peace and freedom is very difficult in Canada on account of size of the country, scattered population, and scarcity of workers. However the groups have strengthened and grown. Many individual members working in other organizations, especially in labor and farm organizations, have done splendid and effective work in stemming the tide of militarism in our schools. The branches have kept up regular public meetings dealing with peace and international subjects, and protesting on such occasions as the invasion of the Ruhr, the Near East crisis, etc. They have co-operated with university women, parent-teachers' associations, student and youth groups, in the work for German relief. For

two years in eastern and western Canada the Women's International League branches have taken a leading part in the organization of No More War demonstrations. These took the form of parades with banners, followed by mass meetings. We trust we shall continue and extend these gatherings representing peoples differing in politics, religion, and race, but cooperating in repudiation of war. The visit of Amy Woods laid the basis for cooperation with our fellow workers in the United States. Undoubtedly in Canada there is a growing peace sentiment in many quarters. Unfortunately we must confess that little has been done towards condensing this sentiment into a driving force. We believe that by emphasizing the broad educational basis of our work we shall be able to interest ever widening groups of people of heart and ability, who need only to be made aware in order to become active in their opposition to militarism.

It is in the hope that it will aid in this work of awakening people to the situation, that we welcome the coming of the Pax Special to Canada.

Ru-djer L. Tang, speaking for the friends of the movement in China, said: This movement is not at present received very enthusiastically in China. This is due to two reasons:

1. China has been a nation of pacifists. Her sages taught her about peace.

2. Ever since the revolution for the Republic broke out China has been internally not peaceful. Therefore she has not had time to look after international order, for she has been too much occupied in trying to secure national order. But China will eventually cooperate wholeheartedly in promoting international peace and good-will, for she is one of the nations that has suffered a great deal on account of her military weakness. She has suffered terribly on account of the pressure of strong militarism.

Maria Aull, speaking for one branch of the Women's International League in Czecho-Slovakia, said: Our most important task is the development of understanding between the nationalities in our own country. The two branches, Czecho-Slovak and German, work in a central committee and have a regular meeting every month. Besides this they are working in several special committees. Both branches are represented by an equal number of delegates. If it is not possible to obtain unanimity on a question, it is postponed. Every language may be used.

The League was founded in 1923, and has now more than 1,000 members in local organizations.

The Czecho-Slovakian government has been urged by the Women's International League to sign the Optional Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and some of the conventions of the International Labour Office relating to working women.

The educational committee has nearly finished the revision of school books, and has presented a program of positive work.

Milena Illová, speaking for the other branch in Czecho-Slovakia, said: It is a great pleasure to me to extend to the Congress in the name of the Czecho-Slovak Section of the Women's International League, the sincere greetings of all Czecho-Slovak peace-aspiring women, and with best wishes for success to thank the American Section for all it has done to enable us to attend the Congress, the significance of which for our future work we well know how to appreciate. It will be a great satisfaction for us to be able to conclude on the ground of the knowledge gained here, that our own endeavors towards peace and all our activities have been conducted on a sound foundation, that we have shown the right spirit of peace in our endeavors to bring about complete understanding of the time towards which we are drawing, a time of peace and friendliness among nations, with political, economic, and social freedom.

As to our activities, I am very happy to report that the aspects of the future are bright indeed. We have turned to women of all classes and political beliefs, and everywhere have met with much encouragement. The Podiebrady Summer School for Peace, held last year, pointed out to us how to proceed with our work for the League. Lectures were held, especially in women's clubs; the cooperation of all women, even those politically active, was invited; there were meetings of members and committees; and all public movements in our direction were heartily supported. Through our efforts public peace lectures were conducted at the Czecho-Slovak University at Prague, and these lectures will be repeated for the benefit of a larger public in all the large cities of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. We have also participated in the founding of a peace museum.

Clara Tybjerg: Denmark is a land of cooperation, and it cordially greets the great symbol of cooperation which is expressed in the very name of the United States of America. That the

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has chosen again and again for its president Miss Jane Addams, the wonderful representative of what is the true spirit of this great country, is because we feel that to no other woman in the world we could with greater confidence intrust this sacred office.

The Danish Section has groups all over the country, with a total of more than eight thousand paying and active members, having representatives in all electoral districts. We sent in interpellations to all candidates for the recent elections, stating aims and objects of the League and asking for parliamentary support. We have now a Cabinet formed by the Labor Party, and the first woman to be a member of the cabinet has charge of the education department. We have been doing a good deal of educational and propaganda work for peace through lectures, lantern slides, press articles, etc. We have had a summer school with international speakers, and courses at different high schools. Our Peace Day enables us to get into touch with other circles of the population, especially with the common men and women who in all countries are the sufferers during a war. By selling a small emblem on the day we collect sufficient money to carry on our work, and we strongly recommend this procedure to other sections.

Gabrielle Duchêne: It would be impossible to give in three minutes an approximate idea of the activities of the French Section. I therefore prefer to state in what spirit it has worked from the moment it was created up to now.

It was founded at the beginning of the War at a time when the very fact of showing pacifist tendencies was considered as anti-patriotic and even a crime in the belligerent countries. In France the Section was the first organization which put forward a protest against the War. The persecutions from the Government which it had to bear from the beginning only strengthened it in its action and its attitude of total independence. It was never afraid of standing in opposition, even if that meant temporary unpopularity.

The French Section asked for the revision of treaties and a New Peace. It protested as soon as the occupation of the Ruhr became threatening. It claims that it is not enough to love peace and to proclaim it. It believes that peace is only a result. It is convinced that the main causes of war are economic causes which it is necessary to find out, make public, and fight cease-

lessly. It is convinced that permanent peace cannot be brought about without a thorough change in men, in institutions, in domestic conditions of states as well as in relations between peoples. This is why it took the initiative of the "Cahiers de la Paix" for a New International Order, which is the subject which the present congress is going especially to consider.

Johanna Wimmer: I feel as if, before reporting for the German Section, I ought to give a short message from the Ruhr. I was lucky enough to attend the Hague Conference of the Women's International League in December, 1922, and came home to the Ruhr much inspired, full of new strength and belief in our work. Not only the women, but the workers and the youth of the Ruhr understood the message the Congress sent to them.

Shortly after this the French and Belgian troops entered the Ruhr. Our motto was: Help yourself and God will help you. But if help was offered to us in the right spirit, we were only too glad to accept it. And help came to us during these weeks full of hardship, from different sides. One of the most wonderful experiences was cooperation with a commission which the Women's International League sent into the Ruhr. This commission not only lived with us, investigated and suffered with us, but was a splendid help in our mediations between the Occupation Forces on one side and the local Government on the other hand.

This experience of successful international cooperation of women might be a new stimulus to us. We ought never keep quiet, but always be ready to fight in the front line in the struggle for a better understanding between peoples, for a new international order.

The work of the German Section is of course powerfully influenced by what happens in the field of foreign and domestic politics, and by the economic and financial confusion.

Nevertheless during the period 1921-24 the Committee of Five, the Central Bureau, the Press Committee, the Education Committee, and the fifty-five Local Groups have untiringly carried on political work and propaganda through their members and by means of great public meetings (either alone or with other peace organizations, trade-unions, and socialist parties), and by the sale and distribution of leaflets, pamphlets and other publications, to the number of over one hundred thousand pieces.

Whenever a situation developed, either in home or inter-

national affairs, which threatened the fundamental principles of the Republic or a pacifist international policy, we declared our position in regard to it in petitions, manifestos and protests, and sent to the proper officials of governments constructive proposals in line with our International meetings of 1915, 1919, 1921, and the Conference of 1922.

To mention one among many matters, when the Special Conference of the League of Nations for the question of Upper Silesia met in September, 1921, we got Catherine Marshall to request it to consider the fact that the livelihood of the masses of the populations of Central Europe is dependent on the coal and industrial products of Upper Silesia, and to accept the following principles:

1. Upper Silesia to be left undivided, to be isolated, neutralized and made autonomous.

2. Trade in coal and industrial products to be free—no export duties to make them dearer, no customs on importation into either country.

3. International arrangements to be made to guarantee the neutrality of Upper Silesia and its security against inner or outer disturbance; no State to have any preponderance in these arrangements.

In both the Polish and German newspapers we published appeals to the women of Upper Silesia to save the country and the common welfare by a program of autonomy and free trade, and to renounce violence.

In the occupied Rhine and Ruhr districts acts of sabotage against the army of occupation were most energetically repudiated, and the Government was petitioned to prosecute such acts without partiality.

The Government has been repeatedly petitioned to ask for the admission of Germany to the League of Nations—this not because we regard the League as a perfect structure (we incline much more to the contrary opinion), but because we hope that it will come nearer to fulfilling its aim when a larger number of powerful countries declare for cooperation.

The chief work of the past winter has been concentrated on collections in order to make known and understood the Reconciliation-Reparations in the devastated regions of northern France. Reparations undertaken in this spirit of reconciliation, if carried out on a large scale, might release us from the atmos-

phere of hate, end the present state of tension, and assure the reconstruction of Europe.

Dorothy Evans stated that the printed report of the British Section was in the hands of the delegates and further details could be read therein on the subjects to which she would briefly refer. During the period since December, 1922, the British Section has worked steadily for the calling of an international conference of states to settle the questions of reparations, debts, disarmament and security. They worked especially to create understanding in England for the point of view of France so as to bring about if possible an agreed point between the two countries. They had worked with success for the use of the Boxer indemnity, still being paid by China to Britain, for Chinese Education. They protested against the case for East Galicia being dealt with summarily by the Ambassadors' conference without waiting for the East Galician official spokesman. Mrs. Swanwick had led the opposition to the Draft Treaties of Mutual Assistance. The Section had urged a diasarmament policy on the Government, including the abandonment of the Singapore base, which had now come about. They were working with hope of success to get Great Britain to be the first of the Great Powers to adopt compulsory arbitration by signing the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Great Britain has 3,500 members, and 27 Branches.

Dr. Agnes Studitis: Our President, Mrs. C. Parren, has entrusted to me an expression of the deep gratitude of Greece to this great country, the leader of civilization and progress, for the help and relief which so generously were provided to so many thousands of our unfortunate refugees from Asia Minor whom the last miserable war fiercely eradicated from their homes. The last war, unfortunately for us, was prolonged even after the signing of peace, and as soon as this unfortunate war ended our country found herself in military revolution and under martial law. This is the explanation of our inability during the three years since the Vienna Congress to act and propagate for peace as vigorously as we should. After the abolition of martial law, however, our President gave a series of public lectures against the war, and gave full explanations with regard to the international work of peace which our international association is pursuing with systematic energy.

We also convey our deep gratitude to the International League

for the promptitude with which it responded to our telegraphic appeal to urge for intervention on the part of the League of Nations when the bombardment of the island of Corfu took place.

Our President on behalf of our National Section addresses to the Congress the following wishes:

That the next Congress, or international gathering, be held at Athens, Greece, where the Balkan States could be easily represented, and thus the cessation of active propaganda in favor of a new war be promoted.

That the President of the International League issue a proclamation for peace through the international press, which the different local Sections would undertake to translate and publish.

That this Congress be crowned with success, and that through it and with the energetic activities of all of us, mankind be delivered from the horrors and the destruction of war.

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann: The Dutch Section has been working largely in connection with other organizations, social as well as political. The action taken against the naval law proved that if a nation really wants something, the most powerful Governments cannot keep the current back. The law was voted down, 50 against 49 votes, although there is a conservative majority in parliament of 60 against 40. Of our 7 women members, 6 voted against the law, among them a Roman Catholic woman of the conservative Catholic State party. To prove how serious the situation was it may be added that for 67 days we were without a regular government after the cabinet fell.

A very important activity is with the youth movement; those youth organizations that never before had pacifism in their program now have one pacifist conference after another, among the labor youth as well as among the intellectuals, especially among university students. We are now preparing an International Youth Congress for 1925, in which two questions will be discussed: 1. What can the young people do for the League of Nations? 2. What can the League of Nations do for the young people? Our Dutch Section has contributed a good deal to this pacifist youth movement and is taking an active part in everything that promotes peace, and when possible initiates such action.

The W. I. L. Conference at The Hague in 1922 was a great help in arousing interest in and sympathy for our League.

Eugenie M. Meller: From the Hungarian Section I bring heartiest greetings and best wishes for success to the Fourth Congress of the Women's International League, and to its conveners and arrangers. In our National Section we find it hard to make it clear to our compatriots that our ideals are shared by many; that prevention of war does not mean to give up rights, to suffer injustice, and to be indifferent to the sufferings of other people. We have tried to make clear that the work of our League, advancing on international lines, aims at making the oppression of other nations impossible in the future, and strives for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

Our method has been to arrange lectures on the most various subjects, proving that pacifism is a world view penetrating into every question and problem. The chief features of our last year's work were the production of our "Cahier" which was preceded by many conferences, and the organization and education of our young people. The latter work started as a result of the International League Summer School held in Podiebrady. Our group of young people arranged lectures in cooperation with prominent scientists and also with lecturers out of their own ranks. We old and tired workers of the cause welcome the organization of this group of young people with great joy and fond hopes. Only the first part of our Cahier work is done as yet: the production and translation of our own Cahier, which has now been sent to different organizations in our country, and which was recently read and accepted in our international Cahier Conference in Paris.

We have suffered the great loss of two valuable workers of our Section: Mrs. Fai, the proud leader of our young group in Podiebrady, and Monsignore Giesswein, the strong pillar of our Section, who fell when most needed.

Grace J. Paul, speaking of peace movements in India, said: From the very beginning India has been seeking an atmosphere in which her two most cherished offspring would best thrive—knowledge and religion. What can this atmosphere be if it is not that of Peace and Freedom? During the war India, as did a large part of the British Empire, sent her sons to help the Allies; and she has seen, as all of you have, the brutality of war; she has seen that war is grounded on ideas that are too far below the best in man. She has therefore taken a characteristic step—the effort to make the world see her point of view through conduct, through spiritual excellence, involving resort to the

power of weapons under no circumstances whatever. These ideas are personified in Gandhi, whose gospel is the practicability and the efficacy of soul force. "If the world believes in the existence of the Soul," says Gandhi, "it must be recognized that soul force is greater than body force. It is the sacred principle of love which moves mountains." To us is the responsibility of living out that law. The support which this movement gets from the women is great. Since such has been our history and such our attitude, we are eager to cast in our lot with you in your endeavor to establish World Peace, and we hope that the day will soon come when wars shall be no more.

Marie Johnson: Greetings from Ireland to America and the Congress. In 1922 our committee sent four members to the Irish White Cross Committee to administer funds sent from America to Ireland, and sent a deputation to the President in regard to the extension of the franchise; we now have adult suffrage. We also in June of that year joined in a conference of women who approached two warring sections to secure a cessation of hostilities. This was followed by a Manifesto of Condemnation which was refused by the press and so was posted up in Dublin by ourselves. In November our Committee drafted a statement calling on the leaders to arrange a truce. In January, 1923, Miss Bennett proposed a resolution narrowing membership to those who in striving for freedom or resisting tyranny used only such methods as did not involve the taking of life. This was opposed as inopportune, but later the War Resisters' pledge was taken by the Section. In February, 1923, a sub-committee was appointed to deal with educational propaganda for peace among children. A noted book, "True Patriotism," by Miss Pease, is being adapted by Rosamond Jacob for use in schools. This has been followed by the formation of a group of the "youth movement," a group for the formation of village clubs, relief sent to Germany, and "propaganda fortnight" in Ireland.

Virginia Piatti-Tango, in reporting for the Italian Section, said: The movement which I have to report is but small and weak. All the intellectual societies, the clubs and feminist reviews have hitherto had a strictly nationalist character. At Milan we have the group of Rosa Genoni, Ida Vassalini, Ada Crespi, and some others; at Turin the group led by Cimbri Bonnet which has already established a pacifist library. In Florence the group



European and American Delegates in front of the Union Station, Washington.

THE
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

to which I belong, together with a dozen women artists and writers, is hoping to rally to itself not only a large number of women of the people but the intellectuals who with Guglielmo Lucidi formed the Clarté group, now silent and scattered. I bring to you the greetings and good wishes of the new Italian pacifism, uncompromising and promising, and on my return from America I shall express in public lectures the voice of this noble Congress.

Hiro Ohashi: The Women's Peace Association in Japan was organized in May, 1921, in Tokyo. It has now an enrolled membership of 480. The Association has been carrying on its activity by having—

1. A study circle for the members, meeting once a month.
2. Monthly public meetings.
3. Frequent social gatherings to which are invited foreign tourists or parties of foreign girl students, for example, Russians and Chinese.
4. A scholarship fund to help a certain number of Chinese and Korean girl students.
5. Classes of English for girls and women.

In the autumn of 1922 nine organizations—the Japan Peace Society (men), the League of Nations Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Women's Peace Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Association for Reduction of Armament, the Japan Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, and the Japanese Association for International Education—agreed to co-operate under the name of the National Peace Council of Japan.

Lilian Holby: It is a great privilege to me to bring sincere greetings from Norway to our American hosts and our friends from all parts of the world. Our Section has existed since 1915, but it is not yet organized with special membership because the country is large and the population scattered. We have found it most effective and cheapest to work in connection with existing women's unions, and thus reach more women than we should otherwise be able to reach. Our people are as a whole a pacifist people; but not very active pacifists, chiefly because they do not fear that war will come to them. We were separated from Sweden in a quiet, peaceful way, and a monument has been erected, with the inscription that never shall there be war between the three brother nations of the North. The arguments of those

who want to keep the standing army are: 1. Fear of Russia's taking the northern part of our country—a very weak argument. 2. We cannot disarm before other countries do so, because we want to defend our neutrality in case of war. 3. Many people think also that it is good for the boys to have the military training. 4. Also the reactionary parties want to have the army in order to keep labor movements down, but they do not care to say so. This is one of the reasons why our army is not very popular now. But we also feel sure that never would our army go against the workers. But we must make propaganda, and try to awake Norwegian women to their responsibility. We are all responsible for what happens in the world, and we have all of us something to bring to the New International Order.

J. Budinska-Tylicka: In the name of Poland which for more than one and a half centuries was obliterated from the map of Europe, I salute the citizens of America, a representative of the free Polish Republic, independent and democratic. How happy I am to be in the country of the honored President Wilson, the first to have the courage to demand the liberation of Poland in the thirteenth point of his famous declaration. Not only the President of the United States, who as chief of the state moved the consciences of men, but also the entire population of your generous country bears to all nations ruined by this terrible war, help in the form of money and food, and in this way combats human misery and the mortality among children. At the head of these benefactors stands the well-known philanthropist Hoover, whom Poland has had the honor of saluting within its boundaries; and also Julia Lathrop, who has interested herself deeply in the fate of the poor children. The memory of the great interest that America has felt in Poland, from the political as well as from the economic point of view, will remain with us always and deserves the gratitude of the Polish people. It is with keen joy that I can assert that these two nations have already an ineffaceable common page in history. At the time of the struggle for independence in the United States, did not our national hero, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, bravely defend the cause of your country? I address the salute of friendship to the American women from the women of Poland.

Dr. Naima Sahlbom: I am very happy to have the opportunity of bringing greetings from our Swedish Section. I will only say a few words about our preparative work for this Congress.

There was a good response to the call from the women in America for we felt it an opportunity to back our sisters here in their efforts to bring about nearer relations between the continents, in return for their assistance in the difficulties of Europe.

Ellen Key wrote a long letter, the greater part of which I dare not quote for fear that Miss Addams would interrupt me. But she ends by saying: "If only the Congress of the League for Peace and Freedom is inspired by Jane Addams it will be a step toward the realization of the true spirit of Christ in a world now as far from the teaching of Jesus as the earth is from the sky. I have no belief in resolutions of Congresses, but I believe in martyrs, men and women, moved by faith in their ideals."

Archbishop Söderblom wrote: "All that is done by sincere hearts for peace on earth is a blessing."

The Mayor of Stockholm, Carl Lindhagen, sent greetings with "the hope that the Congress may strongly and unanimously express itself for the abolition of armaments, the perfection of the League of Nations, and spiritual fraternization by means of an international world language, to be used in addition to the mother tongue."

Dr. Selma Lägerlof intended to come to the Congress but her physician would not allow her to try the long and exhausting passage. But she showed her interest both financially and by a literary contribution—a lovely story on international solidarity, which was published in a Swedish paper.

Marguerite Gobat: Since the last Congress we have formed two new groups in Switzerland, one in Geneva, the other in Arbon. The Swiss League which initiated the movement for civilian service instead of military service which would unite the force and the good will of our young people for a constructive work for the country, continues to support the propaganda for civilian service, which has been taken up by other organizations, and especially by our conscientious objector, Pierre Ceresole, who will make this summer a first attempt at a practical application of it.

In 1922 the Swiss League protested through a petition to our Parliament against the augmentation of the military budget, a part of it being disguised under different headings of the federal budget. We sent messages to our government, asking that it might urge the League of Nations to intervene for the retirement

of the French troops of occupation in the Ruhr. An inquiry is also being made into the fabrication of ammunition by Swiss manufacturers, as a consequence of the crisis in Swiss industry. The necessary exact information will enable us to make a protest and to insist on reforms in our world legislation.

Dr. Oksana Khrapka-Dragomanova: I bring you the salutations of our Ukrainian Section. We work under very great difficulties. The Ukraine is divided. Ten millions are under Poland, and twenty-five millions form a quasi-autonomous state in the Union of Soviet Republics. The office of the Section is outside the country in Vienna, but it has many members in the country itself, and their number increases every year.

Lucy Biddle Lewis: The United States Section has worked, as have all the Sections, for disarmament and against military training in schools and colleges. Our territory is so great that it is difficult to keep in close touch and act together with 3,000 miles between our groups, so I can best illustrate it by showing what has been done in certain localities. In Wisconsin the National Guard appropriation was reduced from \$9,000,000 to \$2,550,000; the compulsory military training clause in the University of Wisconsin has been abolished, and no more armories can be built in Wisconsin. In Pennsylvania a student was dismissed from the State College because while attending a student meeting on peace he had become convinced he could no longer take military training. The Women's International League, and other organizations, found the State College had gone beyond its legal rights in dismissing him. There is a growing feeling toward internationalism and against war among the students—a hopeful sign. In Pennsylvania an automobile tour for three weeks through the country was successful in distributing literature, and speakers visited colleges and schools and held meetings wherever possible. Returns of results are still coming in. We cannot judge how much was accomplished.

Our National Secretary, Amy Woods, has made a very able study of our National Defense Act. This we published and it has been extensively distributed, especially in certain college groups.

On our return from the Conference at The Hague in 1922, Mrs. Hull and I having been appointed with Miss Maud Royden as envoys to our Government, we had interviews with Secretary of Commerce Hoover and Secretary of State Hughes on our

resolution for a New Peace; but they both assured us that as our Government had not signed the Versailles Treaty it could take no action toward altering it. Therefore our only method of work seemed to be through influencing public opinion, and many of us in speaking in public have done what we could in this direction.

Peace Missions

Matilda Widgren, reporting for the Committee on Peace Mission work appointed at Vienna, stated that the members were: Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams, Gabrielle Duchêne, Lida Gustava Heymann, Dr. Olga Knischewsky, and Clara Ragaz, with herself as Chairman because the Swedish Section had proposed this work.

The Chairman had visited Finland in 1922, and had found great need of peace work there. The old struggle between the inhabitants of Swedish origin and the Finns has rather increased since the civil war, and at last the majority of the people have a great fear of Russia. Finland therefore has not only a comparatively strong army, but the young men of the higher classes form safety guards, and the communists on their side also try to be able to use arms. The young girls of the conservative parties have an association which works with and encourages the safety guards.

But there are also men and women who have devoted themselves to the work for peace. Among them Dr. Maikki Friberg, whom we succeeded in obtaining as a correspondent member of the League. She publishes a women's newspaper in the Finnish language, and often collaborates with our publication *Nya Vägar* (The New Ways). We send our newspaper and other publications to many friends in Finland. Especially we work with Dr. Felix Iversen, a teacher in the University of Helsingfors. This spring he has gathered a little group of teachers working for peace education.

Last but not least we have obtained inspiration from one of the most prominent workers for peace, Matilda Wrede. Perhaps you know that Baroness Wrede from her youth has done a wonderful work among prisoners. During the civil war she was neutral, and had a great influence on both sides. She used to symbolize her love to both by having a white flower and a red

one in the same glass (the two parties call themselves the whites and the reds), showing how they could drink of the same water. After the war the government gave her free passes on the railroads to go round about the country in order to see her old friends, the former thieves and murderers, who now by her influence have become important people. She uses her possibilities of travel to give conferences on peace in the cars. Being a great humorist, she gathers all the passengers about her, and she says: "The best thing is that they cannot get away from me." Now she has taken up another work of peace, helping the poor Russian fugitives in Finland.

Last summer the Danish Section arranged a summer school at Augustenburg in the part of Schleswig which by plebiscite has been returned to Denmark. The Danes have done a good work for the German schools in Denmark, especially by making the instruction of the Danish language voluntary in the German schools; and as a result all parents let their children learn Danish, finding it very useful for their practical life.

The most important part of our work has been in the Rhineland and in the Ruhr district. Before The Hague Conference in 1922 the Swedish authoress, Mrs. Elin Wägner, was in the occupied area of Germany, and gave a report to the Conference. Afterwards she went to France to study French peace work, and when the Ruhr was occupied she went there. She has given her experiences of that time in a book named "From Seine, Rhine, and Ruhr." Now she is in the Palatinate studying the Separatist movement, and if possible will send a report to this Congress.

I brought a proposal from Dr. Knischewsky to the executive meeting in Dresden, last September, to take up a permanent work in the Rhine and Ruhr districts. It was unanimously resolved to send delegates. As soon as possible Lady Clare Annesley of England and Mrs. Ester Beskow of Sweden went there. An American member of the League, Lydia Schmidt of Chicago, worked with them. They did an excellent work by encouraging the unhappy inhabitants by material and moral support, working together with our German member, Johanna Wimmer, and in some cases they succeeded in bringing about some mediation. They were well received by French and Belgian authorities. Also the French Section has made a fraternal association for children in the Ruhr.

Our future work is:

1. We must have more and more workers because there are so many parts of the world where the work is strongly needed; for instance, between Finland and Russia; between Latvia, Esthonia, and Russia; in Upper Silesia; in the Balkans, and so on, and I am sure not only in Europe but elsewhere.

2. Workers must have opportunities for training. In Geneva, during one of my visits there, we had a little conference on this subject with workers from different associations in this most international city, and I found a great interest in the question. And in Geneva we have great possibilities for such training; for instance, we have the great library belonging to the League of Nations. I hope for—no, I am sure—we will have a training college for Peace Mission work in Geneva. I also know that some colleges belonging to the Friends have already begun to prepare for international work. You would think our summer schools would be enough for this work, but I will answer: They are excellent for creating interest and longing for the work among our members; but when they have chosen the countries where they wish to work, they must take up an earnest study of the history, of the national economics, the psychology, and the languages of those peoples.

For this purpose we want money, and we also want money for scholarships for the students, and we want money to support them when they go out to the work. Remember, they must stay for a long time in the same place. Could they find a way to earn at least part of their living, it would be excellent. Some might be able to do it as teachers or helpers. It is very important also that persons going out as helpers know a great deal not only about the country where they are taking up their work, but also about the conditions of the former enemies of that country. If not, they will perhaps increase the hatred between the nations instead of allaying it. If the rich people of different countries should hesitate to give of their superfluity, I hope—no, believe—we will awaken among ourselves more of that spirit of almost two thousand years ago—the spirit of the old widow who was ready to give from her want—and then we will understand what happiness we might create for ourselves by doing the same.

Passive Resistance

Carolena M. Wood: The Commission on Passive Resistance was appointed to see if any successful attempt had been made by any small group which felt itself wronged, to obtain justice from a powerful nation without resort to arms. It is not surprising that we must report that there has been no outstanding example of this. During the last year two books have been published on this subject: Fenner Brockway on "Nonresistance in Many Lands," and Clarence Case on "Non-violent Coercion," giving the historic and philosophic analyses of the subject. These show that it is only little by little that we are developing a technique of passive resistance. The most powerful minds have for thousands of years given their ability to developing new methods of war. It is high time that an equal effort be given to a technique of peace. We may talk about our high peace ideals, but it is very difficult to know just how to carry them out in the testing moment when we are faced by injustice, hate, and war.

It is therefore with great joy that we have studied two far-reaching movements in passive resistance during the past two years, that in India and that in the Ruhr. Although they have not been fully and easily successful, they have been splendid experiments in a new science. We recognize that they have dealt with most mixed situations, many influences trying to use their powers for suffering to turn passive resistance into a strike, which is a more subtle method of inflicting suffering on an enemy.

They have, however, shown that soul force, as Gandhi calls it, is an effective means of moving the world, and they give promise of greater discoveries in a technique of peace, which brings to brave souls a hope for the higher possibilities of the human race.

Cooperation With Young People in Various Countries

By Gertrud Baer

My report will tell of the awakening of youth in a number of countries; of a revolt against the old order; of the growing realization by the younger generation that youth has the right and the duty actively to participate in the building up of a New International Order.

Of necessity this work is different in different countries. The fields of youth's endeavor are shaped in part by the soil and the

folk from which the youth have sprung—by the character of their national life, their myths, their art—their whole cultural background. In part their work is shaped by the conditions of an artificially created materialistic, militaristic civilization.

Youth tries with its lever at the most diverse corners in order to raise the treasures that have been overlaid and to clear away the evils. It was my task, with the help of young comrades abroad—both men and women—to find these more or less clearly defined evidences of youth's purpose and activity, to bring them in contact with each other, and to interest them in the problem of internationalism and peace.

It was not my task—and I want to emphasize this particularly in order to clear away certain misconceptions of it—to start any new "Youth Movement," or to try to bring together existing youth organizations, or to found so-called junior leagues in the Sections of the Women's International League, or in any way to separate the girls and the boys. The individual Sections are free to work as they choose. Practically, certain Sections have had the skill to work with the youth organizations of their own countries in continuous and very effective cooperation; others have been successful in starting Junior W. I. L. Leagues; and others again have not been able to win the confidence of youth. No organizations, no programs can be imposed on consciously autonomous youth; to attempt such a method would be the most crude and glaring contradiction of that life which alone creates a movement, fertilizes it, and brings it to maturity—life in most diverse forms, life which daily, hourly, is renewed from its own inner being, its own inexhaustible wealth. Like the wave of the ocean, it seems to flow back; then filled anew with a greater force, it overtops its own height and with a joyous shout beats the shore. Movement in the international sense demands and develops to the highest degree this renewing life, and opens undreamed-of possibilities to those who are able to catch a far perspective.

Reports are at hand from Australia, Austria, the United States, Canada, Germany, England, France, Holland, Ireland, Japan, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, Hungary. They have come in reply to a series of circular letters addressed to all Sections of the Women's International League. Sections not referred to in this report have not replied to repeated requests for information.

One great point is common to all the reports: The awakening of youth is expressed in one form or another in relation to—

1. Social and cultural life,
2. Religion,
3. Industry, and
4. Political life.

A. Toward the renewing of **public life in their own countries** they are concerned—

1. With the cultural and social field: The return to nature, simplicity, and honesty; the breaking away from artificiality; the revival of the old folk arts; discouragement of the trashy kind of books and moving pictures; abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, and an effort to turn the nation's wealth toward educational ends—schools, baths, libraries, forestations. (Norway, Switzerland, Germany, and others.)

2. Religion: The welling up of new religious life, in many places under the influence of the "Friends." Usually this is outside of the organized churches, for these, with very few exceptions, were revealed in the years of dark confusion as utterly inadequate to their task. Today in certain countries one can speak of a new catholicism and a new protestantism whose purpose it is truly to express Christianity and to live according to its principles. (Switzerland, Holland, France, England, Germany, United States, etc.)

3. Industry: Practical cooperation of brain workers and industrial workers and of brain workers and rural workers, in order that the brain workers may come to know the conditions in factories and mines and on farms, and gradually break down the misunderstanding and mistrust between the classes, and substitute for the class war non-violent constructive methods. (Workers' Educational Associations in England and many other countries, and rural people's high schools in Norway and elsewhere.)

4. Political life: The emancipation of the best of the youth from political parties, in spite of the constantly renewed, vigorous efforts that these are making to win youth. Many youth have recognized that there are higher political ideals and cleaner, less selfish, more fitting methods of carrying them out than the ideals and the methods of most of the existing political parties. (Examples in Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Germany, yes, even in Poland, where youth has been deeply interested in politics and has always led in the political struggle for freedom.)

B. Toward the renewing of international life there is to be observed: Outspoken rejection of the old forms of international anarchy, of secret diplomacy and the principle of might-makes-right; and in the place of these the attempt to carry over into international life the highest standards of personal ethics. Here especially we should remember with gratitude those upright young men in every country still requiring compulsory military service who prefer to serve their prison term rather than to outrage their consciences and let themselves be drilled for fratricide and the machinery of war. To these comrades in Switzerland, Sweden, France, Holland, the United States, and wherever else they may be,—to these defenders of freedom of conscience, whether now in prison or under trial, or again, or as yet, at liberty,—we send our warmest gratitude, together with the promise to make it one goal of our international work that the refusal of fratricide and military service shall no longer be a breach of law and treason to the constitution, but shall be in natural unison with the highest decree of every state which claims to be civilized. The World Peace Fellowship, the Fellowship of Youth for Peace in the United States, the several national branches of the War Resisters' International Movement, are among the organizations whose members are such convinced representatives of our cause. Besides these, there is the No More War Movement which in many countries is drawing always more young men into its ranks. It has been youth, thousands and thousands of them of all classes and creeds, who have marched through hundreds of towns in many lands in the No More War Movement demonstrations of the last few years. It was young people in Holland who presented their demands to the Assembly of the League of Nations; it was young people in Japan and Norway who raised a protest against the militarist methods of the Ruhr occupation; it is pacifist students who are now at work drawing up a "Cahier of Peace." It is young people of the World League of Youth, of the Catholic League of Quickborn, and others in Germany, who in spite of the still existing antagonism between official France and official Germany, are going to the devastated areas of northern France in order to work side by side with their French comrades in its rebuilding, knowing that love of one's enemy requires more courage and self-mastery and greatness of character than hatred and killing of enemies. It is young people from the teachers' seminaries and colleges in France who, in cooperation with our French comrades of the Women's International

League, have adopted several hundred school children and their families in the Ruhr district, knowing that to understand brings reconciliation, and realizing the disarming power of love.

Friends, what we chiefly lack is knowledge of one another. The migration of youth during and after the war seems to have spread among them some of this knowledge that gave events a different face from that which was allowed to appear in the newspapers. Since our Congress in Vienna the youth of many countries have been increasingly linked together through conferences, summer schools, the exchange of letters and newspapers, press services, visits back and forth, and the publication in many places of periodicals, pamphlets, and books about the movement. In the official relations among states also certain small steps have been taken toward international cooperation.

But we ought not to bury our heads in the sand and refuse to face the facts. In nearly all countries backward-looking elements are trying to build up again the old walls of ignorance, prejudice, and fear; almost everywhere a more or less veiled dictatorship is seeking to assure for itself the support of youth, appealing meanwhile to the old conceptions of heroism, property, and power. And countless young people in all countries are carried away by it. How can they, why must they become victims of such delusions? Because the interrelationships of the present situation are not clear to them.

What is the lesson of this, and what are the practical tasks which it sets before the forward-looking youth?

1. Analysis and enlightenment concerning the true—that is, the economic—centers around which the highly organized modern state revolves, and the relation of these economic central points to one another; support and extension of the already existing press services of youth; exchange of literature—books and magazines—of many countries and many standpoints, showing in horizontal view the close interrelationship of industry and national power, of property and violence, laying bare the possession-complex which is the driving force of many modern civilizations, and bringing youth to realize that it is both futile and degrading to lower themselves to the use of violence—to kill and be killed—for the satisfaction and protection of these possessive and acquisitive passions of a certain few in all lands.

2. Shaping and development of a new conception of heroism and greatness, a creative group conscience, as they learn to know

and understand, through direct contacts and the interchange of hand workers and of brain workers, something of the psychologically and morally international elements which show clearly how the world as a whole shapes each single land, and again the dependence of the whole world organism on the single cells. It must be our highest goal to protect and to develop all the living forces so that the positive contributions of the single nation to the world as a whole, and, reciprocally, the highest development of the whole organism for the fertilizing of the single nation, may be effective. For this there is needed, especially in a chaotic time like the present, heroic, joyous work, with persistence, self-mastery, and self-forgetfulness. And for this, in turn, it is necessary that more and more the spirit of violence shall be overcome through the consciously active spirit of non-violence. It is necessary before all else that the youth of all countries live—live for the sake of their fatherland, and the land of their children—live for the sake of the earth, the mother of them all.

Can the W. I. L. do something practical and effective in order to develop a new heroism, in order practically to affirm the sacred inviolability of the life of our youth? Yes. An unequivocal, direct, definite program in all countries which declares every war, whether between classes, races, or peoples, a breach of law, a crime; which makes all Sections seriously and with all their strength work toward the transformation by peaceful means of our political, industrial, social, and educational life, and so to arrive at a New International Order—such a program will draw to its support the joyousness and confidence of youth. It will increase the possibility of such common work as has been already started in a number of countries. It will open to us their newspapers and magazines, their conferences and meetings, as ours stand always at their disposal. Then in mutual confidence and open comradeship, together with the sense of the complete independence of each group in its own affairs, will grow that great international solidarity of common work and of good will. Only this solidarity will break the international habit of destructive violence. Only this solidarity will carry us through and beyond the weeks of darkness, and enable us to look into that future of which the radiant beauty of spring outdoors is a visible promise. Let us sow the seed for such a future.

Cooperation Toward Ending Social Injustice

Emily G. Balch reported in place of Yella Hertzka who happened to be absent from the platform when the report of the Committee was called for, as follows: As a matter of fact your Committee has to report that with a membership scattered in different countries and with conditions varying as they do in the different countries it has not been possible to do any real work.

The Committee wants to point out that there has been some misunderstanding of the resolution passed at Vienna which reads: "Since the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at the peaceful solution of conflicts between social classes as between nations, it is the duty of its National Sections and of its individual members to initiate and support laws looking to the gradual abolition of property privileges (for instance, by means of taxation, death duties, and land reform laws) and to the development of economic independence and individual freedom, and to work to awaken and strengthen among members of the possessing classes the earnest will to transform the economic system in the direction of social justice."

This was reported in the press, I think in Holland and elsewhere, as a vote for the abolition of property, which it is quite clear that it was not.

I do not understand that the Executive Committee recommend the continuance of this committee. Naturally we all must be alert to do all in our power toward ending social injustice, both because it is injustice and because it is a fertile cause of conflict and violence.

Cooperation for Relief of Children

Andrée Jouve, speaking for the Committee on Relief to Children Suffering from War Conditions, and on the "Sacrifice of Reconciliation," said: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has always maintained that feelings of humanity recognize no frontiers, that wherever there is suffering there are brothers and sisters to be helped. It has always maintained the inalienable right to life of children who are innocent of all blame for political crimes.

1. For this reason the French Section, in 1919, when it was paralyzed as regards political action, created the Help for the Children of Europe Committee, which first sent assistance in

money and in kind to the children of Germany, Austria, and Hungary, and later, in 1921, at the time of the catastrophe of the Russian famine, to the children of Russia. The French Committee afterwards became a branch of the International Save the Children Committee, which also absorbed the Save the Children Fund, and continued its existence independent of the Women's International League. After Fridtjof Nansen's speech at the Trocadéro on the terrible need of Russia the work of the French Committee increased so much that it collected two million francs for the Russian children alone. While aid had been voted by the American government, these two millions were the gift of French private charity.

2. Before describing the Fraternal Aid for the Children of the Ruhr which was undertaken, not from a philanthropic but from political motives, both as a protest and as a gesture of reconciliation and humanity, I want to explain how it originated, and to what, in Germany, it was a response. A year ago the German Section of the Women's International League, seeing that the French and German governments were not able to agree in good faith on the question of reparations, and thinking that while it would not be just for Germany alone to pay for all the war damage, it would be just for her to pay for part of it, felt that nothing would do more to dissipate hatred than a spontaneous gesture of the German people to show its good will and its desire for reconciliation. It therefore began in Germany, together with several bodies in the Youth Movement, propaganda in favor of the so-called "Sacrifice of Reconciliation." It proposed to build in the North of France a "House of Reconciliation" which would be a permanent symbol of peace—a simple people's house to serve some village as a hall for meetings and a library. The German Section began to work for the plan. It was touching, the eagerness with which very modest people, people of the poor middle class whom the war has ruined there as in almost all the countries of Europe, responded. Some brought in jewelry, others family keepsakes, or foreign money that they happened to have. Work people in the occupied regions where unemployment was terrible, said, "I have work only for one, two, or three days a week, but I want to contribute to reparations."

Our German friends had already written to us about the Sacrifice of Reconciliation, but it was at Podiebrady in Czechoslovakia, where the Women's International League had its Sum-

mer School in 1923, that a full account of the German plan was given before a meeting of some thirty students, half of them German, half of them French. We were very much moved, especially as the mark was then falling from day to day, and the fifty thousand francs necessary to build a house were becoming harder and harder to get. In October the great fall of the mark took place, everything was unstable, there was unemployment in the Rhineland and the Ruhr, and misery in Germany was increasing so that, as we knew, unhappy women were falling dead of hunger in the streets, and children were going to school unfed. How could we bear that poor people—only the poor, for it would not be the rich industrials who would give—should deprive themselves of necessities to aid those who might be without shelter but who at least had bread. I recall the painful meetings where we said to one another, "We cannot refuse this gesture of reconciliation, but neither can we accept it without doing anything on our side." And we thought of the German children. The Save the Children Committee was doing nothing for them, on our part. It was for us to fraternize with them just there where we also had something to repair, in the Ruhr district occupied by the French army where they were unjustly suffering from the occupation, and where, alas, hatred was finding a too propitious soil.

This was the origin of the Fraternal Aid for German Children. We published a little tract and distributed it widely at meetings with the aid of economic groups like "Ustica,"* and Christian associations like the Christian Pacifist Movement and the French branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Society of Friends also aided us with the propaganda, and above all with getting the money and packages to their destination. The papers refused for the most part to insert our appeals. We had almost no publicity, but what good letters we received from all corners of France! "This is our way to protest against the occupation of the Ruhr. We want to 'adopt' one or two children for three or six months. Tell us their ages. Send us their photographs if you have them." "I have two children; they will each adopt a German brother." Or, "I am not rich enough to give the thirty francs a month for adoption, but here is a little present, and I would like just the same to correspond with one of the children." At the Superior Normal School † more than eighty young men

* Union Syndicale des Techniciens de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de l'Agriculture.

† L'Ecole Normale Supérieure—State Seminary for Lycée teachers.

subscribed. So far we have collected for adoptions and presents more than twelve thousand francs. This was all distributed in the schools of Duisburg by the W. I. L. group of that town, and they as well as the teachers have written us touching letters about the welcome given to the gifts.

In February appeared a magnificent appeal by Romain Rolland, an appeal not only in favor of the children but in favor of all the starving German people. With other pacifist associations and the Help the Children Committee we are going to distribute this appeal.

I have gone into so much detail because I want to make you feel how simply brotherly contact between peoples could be established, even at the most burning point, if only diplomats and the press would cease to interfere and persuade them that they hate one another.

I will give one more example. At the meeting of the Youth International Democratic Congress at Freiberg, Marc Sagnier, the French Catholic Deputy, welcomed the young people who wished to share in the Sacrifice of Reconciliation, and who want to come to France and work with French comrades at reparations in the devastated regions. After an interpellation in the French Chamber, backed by the sarcasms of the Ministers and of Léon Daudet, Marc Sagnier succeeded in securing the passports for the young Germans. The World Youth League wrote a letter to M. Poincaré, showing the importance of the movement, and giving a list of the associations wishing to take part in the Sacrifice of Reconciliation, and M. Poincaré himself replied, and said that he was happy that they were so numerous, and hoped that the number of German pacifists would go on increasing. He did not say whether he hoped for a parallel increase of French pacifists. That is our hope, however, and it is for the reconciliation of these two peoples, such close neighbors and such complements of one another in matters of feeling, that we are working together.

I have wanted to show you German and French action that is quite independent of, and not in agreement with that of official France and official Germany.

Nationality of Married Women

Dr. Aletta Jacobs: The question of the nationality of married women is so complicated and it has become during recent years so important, that in the short time I have I can only give you a very superficial report of it.

Many people believe that the rule by which a woman loses her nationality by marrying an alien man and is obliged to accept his nationality has always existed, but that is not true.

After the French Revolution, but not before the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was France which for the first time made a law by which a woman of foreign nationality who married a Frenchman was considered a French woman, and a French woman who married a man of another country lost her French nationality. It took several years before other countries followed this example. In my country, Holland, such a law was not accepted till 1892. At first women as a whole did not much feel the injustice of this law, but since the position of married women has changed rapidly in most civilized countries, many women have great interest in their nationality.

During the last few years several governments have made more or less important changes in their nationality laws, with the result that now the laws concerning the nationality of married women differ in nearly all countries. This causes hardship, in many cases.

The United States has the farthest reaching law, and I should say the most just. In September, 1922, a law was passed by which an American woman who marries a man of foreign nationality can remain an American woman if she likes, and a woman of a foreign country who marries an American man does not become an American citizen merely by marrying an American. She has to be naturalized, just like other men and women, before she becomes an American citizen, but certain facilities have been granted her.

Nevertheless, so long as the United States alone has such a good law and till the other countries follow this good example, this American law very often creates great difficulties for married women of foreign nationalities, and it becomes more and more clear that the question of the nationality of married women can only be rightly and justly solved internationally.

As far as I can see there are only two bodies which are able to help in the solution of this question.

1. The League of Nations might summon an International Conference on this question. But to get the League of Nations to do this, one or more countries must introduce the proposal.

2. The Third Hague Conference on Private International Law, for which the program will be ready before the end of this year,

and for which the call will be sent out as soon as possible, might take up this question. At the first Hague Conference on Private International Law, in 1902, conflicts of law concerning marriage and divorce of two persons of different nationalities and the guardianship of minor children in such cases, were regulated. The second Conference, which took place in 1903, regulated the conflict of law concerning the results of a marriage of two different nationalities in regard to the rights and duties of husband and wife in their personal relations and in regard to their property. Needless to say that in every article the rights and duties were settled in accordance with the nationality of the husband. This nationality is always decisive.

The United States of America and Great Britain never signed those treaties. During the war France and Belgium withdrew their signatures to the first treaty because many difficulties rose for the countries which had signed them. Switzerland and other countries also met difficulties, but they did not withdraw their signatures, only asking for a revision. That revision is now soon to take place, and it is to this body that the Committee on the Nationality of Married Women must present their wishes.

The committee of Dutch lawyers which is preparing the program for the third conference is not willing to put this question upon the program, but please try to get some women who have studied International Law included among the delegates representing your respective governments at the coming Hague Conference on Private International Law. And second, try to influence them to amend the program of the Conference so that the question may at least come before it.

Finally, let me say that the International Law Association, a body of lawyers from many different countries, has taken up this question. In 1922 a resolution was moved by Mr. Bondelot and carried unanimously, to the effect that the association is of opinion that it would be desirable to fix the nationality of married women uniformly by treaty, reserving to a married woman, as far as possible, the right to choose her own nationality.

And I will add that in October, 1923, when this Association held a conference in London, Mr. E. J. Schuster of Great Britain gave an important report on this question, in which he also came to the conclusion that it is time to regulate this question internationally.

In September or October of this year the International Law

Association has a Conference in Stockholm, where this question will be again discussed, and let us hope that this able body of men can come to an understanding about the conflicts that will or may be the result of freedom for women to choose their own nationality.

The Committee, elected by the three international organizations of women, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the International Alliance for Woman Suffrage, and the International Council of Women, of which Chrystal Macmillan, Barrister at Law in London, is the Chairman, is trying to do its utmost to influence the different bodies which might help us to solve this problem.

International Peace Day

Elna Quistgaard: The Committee appointed at Vienna to consider the question of an International Peace Day, for which Miss Thora Daugaard was "Referent," is still at work. In Denmark this day is of great importance both for propaganda and financially. It is not easy for us to get the required authorization; this year, indeed, it was at first refused to us, but ultimately we succeeded in obtaining it.

Such an International Peace Day should find expression throughout the whole world in such a way that no man, woman, or child could be ignorant of its meaning. We desire to have No More War Day recognized as International Peace Day, and we appeal to our sisters everywhere to unite with us in these international endeavors for making world-wide demonstrations for peace.*

Emily G. Balch called attention to the fact that for years the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has been trying to find a date for an International Peace Day which would suit everyone's convenience as regards weather, arrangements of schools, association of ideas, etc. Since that time the World Conference on Education held at San Francisco, June 28 to July 6, 1923, has met and passed the following Resolution:

"That as a means of promoting the spirit of international good will, a day in the year, to be designated 'Good-will Day,' be observed in the schools of the world. The eighteenth of May, which commemorates the opening of the first Hague Confer-

* See Resolutions passed by the Congress on page 137.

ence—the first gathering of the nations in time of peace for the consideration of means of settling international differences by peaceful methods—is an especially appropriate day for concentrating upon the ideals of justice and world friendship.”

The eighteenth of May is also celebrated in Holland as the first anniversary of the opening of the first Hague Conference. Miss Balch therefore gave notice of a Resolution which she intended to submit, proposing the adoption of the eighteenth of May as International Good-will Day, and she hoped the various National Sections would take the matter up.

In the United States the day is being celebrated in many schools with pageants or other appropriate ceremonies. An interesting pageant for this purpose is “Good Will the Magician.” *

League of Nations Work

Catherine E. Marshall, Referent of the Committee on League of Nations business, not having been able to come to the Congress on account of illness, reported by letter that following the Conference at The Hague in December, 1922, all their efforts were concentrated on trying to get the question of reparations referred to an international tribunal. They saw Mr. Branting in Stockholm; and were invited by the Belgian Foreign Minister to come to Brussels, where they conferred with him and with the Belgian representatives of the League of Nations and others, including the leaders of the Belgian Socialist party, feeling that their talks had some effect, as shortly after the Belgian Socialist party did make the demand, and it was then taken up by the French Socialists. Miss Marshall had also worked with the executive body of the new Labour and Socialist International which held an emergency meeting in England, in reference to keeping the Ruhr workers in touch with the workers of other countries, and keeping the outside world constantly and accurately informed as to what was happening in the occupied territory. She had also been on a similar mission to a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in Amsterdam, just before the invasion of the Ruhr was begun, and succeeded in producing a certain amount of private action against the proposed invasion.

In regard to future work Miss Marshall wrote: At the time

* The text of this pageant can be secured from the National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, Washington, D. C. (Price 10 cents, or \$1 for twelve.)

of the next meeting of the Assembly of the League I should like to have at the Maison Internationale in Geneva a meeting of representatives of the little countries (on the same lines as the very successful meeting we had in 1921 on interracial relations) to discuss the contribution the little countries can make to reconciliation, reconstruction, and the League of Nations. I should like to make them feel that they (the little countries) might give an important lead to the world in the matter of disarmament. For example, if the Scandinavian countries were to adopt the plan which they have been discussing, for an agreement among themselves for complete disarmament. I believe the only serious obstacle is the Swedish fear of Russia, and I believe that fear is going to be removed. But there is some danger that the League of Nations may object to any plan of complete disarmament on the ground that the little nations must be ready to contribute their quota to any international force which may be put at the disposal of the League. We ought to use any influence we can to encourage the Scandinavian nations to adopt a mutual disarmament agreement, and to prevent any hindrance being put in their way.

Another question I should like to see discussed at such a meeting as I propose, and in which the little countries are peculiarly fitted, I think, to take a lead, is the possibility of the coming into politics, as an effective force on the side of peace, of the influence of the agricultural worker. This last is, I believe, going to be the next big factor in the European situation, and much depends on the direction it receives. The influence of women, representing the home workers, and of the agricultural population with the outlook and the sense of primary values of those who work on the land, are what is needed to help the transition begun by the industrial workers, the town proletariat, to proceed on its next phase, and to divert its direction from the channels of force and destruction to the more fruitful channels of cooperation, construction, and peace. I think we do not insist enough that the active alternative to fighting is building.

I believe our League might do good work in making links between the women who are waking up politically and the land workers who are also beginning to wake up politically, and I believe the little countries are the field in which to begin. This is a work, moreover, that can be done in that difficult region, the Russian Border States, which are going, I believe, in the near

future to play a pivotal part in the development of European relations. It is interesting to compare the development of the National Movement in Esthonia, for example, with the very similar sequence of development in Ireland: in its first phase a cultural movement, and growing up side by side with that the development of a cooperative movement in agriculture and farming, it has led in both cases to a definitely political movement as the means of expression and realization. I think we in England are apt to lay too much stress on the political side of things, and not to pay much attention to movements until they have developed politically.

W. Gladys Rinder: The Women's International League welcomed the idea of a League of Nations, when in 1919, largely through the instrumentality of President Wilson, it took practical shape. From the first we realized the League's imperfections. Many of us were at first in despair about it; but it is now firmly established, its influence has increased, we cannot destroy it or create a substitute. Since its formation our Geneva headquarters have tried to bring pressure to bear upon it, and in many instances have been singularly successful. The appointment of the Committee of the League of Nations for the repatriation of the Greek and Armenian women imprisoned in Turkish harems, was set up as a result of the efforts made by the League's representatives.

Pressure is needed in every country: First, to secure the appointment of progressive representatives to the League. Second, to insure that these representatives tackle the very difficult problems before them in an impartial manner. In that way only shall we have an all inclusive, truly international League of Nations.*

Revision of Textbooks

Helène Scheu-Riesz: The best and most effective way of revising textbooks is to make a big bonfire and burn them. As long as every nation, every town, every village, compiles its own textbooks, they will always build up barriers between mind and mind. Why have separate textbooks at all? Here is a world full of nations that have produced wonderful thought, lovely books of the master minds of all ages. Why not pool them and distribute them all over the world? Let us collect what is best in the literature of all nations and print it in large editions to make

* See Resolutions passed by the Congress on page 137.

it very inexpensive, so that we can give every child at every elementary school at least ten books a year to keep. French teachers who wanted to get rid of a new school reader which has been recently introduced into some French schools and which contains stories about German cruelties, have begun to publish a series of little books for the use of their pupils. They have started with a German story, and had it published in October, 1921, when the waves of internationalism went highest. In Austria a pacifist group is publishing an international series of literature for children. The two hundred volumes now published contain texts from twenty different nations, and are being used in the schools of Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and England.

Summer Schools

Andrée Jouve reported on the various Summer Schools which had been held by the Women's International League, mentioning among others the schools at Salzburg in 1921, at Burg Lauenstein and at Lugano in 1922, and at Podiebrady in 1923. She said: The Women's International League is not only a political league; it is also a culture league. It wants not only to give its opinion on political events, but desires also to work for the establishment of institutions for progress, and also in a sense it wants to establish means of making the people know and understand each other for the furtherance of international prohibition of war.

It was a great thing to gather eminent personalities of older countries together, and to hear them discuss together and to speak with them in an informal way.

At the last summer school we found it was rather too expensive for the young students and for the working people, and we want to have a simpler way of gathering them together. I think the best thing would be to sacrifice a little of our comfort and to live in an altogether simple way, and make it pleasant for the others.

The translations in the summer schools have been a very difficult question. When we had to have three or four translations we thought it would be an excellent thing if we could have an international language and make only one translation. I do not know that one would be justified in learning Esperanto for such a purpose, but then there would be needed only one translation into Esperanto for those who could understand it, and that would be sufficient.

Survey of the Nine Years' History of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

By Lida Gustava Heymann, International Vice President

Amsterdam, January, 1915; The Hague, May, 1915; Zürich, May, 1919; Vienna, June, 1921; The Hague, December, 1922—these are the cities in which the women who opposed the world war have met in the last nine years. Whoever was not there cannot realize what these conferences meant to us in a time of heart-breaking sorrow and grief. For many of us they were the supreme moments of our life. Resolutions taken at these conferences and congresses have been printed. The work done by our envoys, Sections, summer schools, and commissions is laid down in annual reports and in our bulletins which are published in Geneva. These all show that women understand that peace will never be realized by the philosophical speeches of idealists, but that a fundamental change of political and economic affairs is necessary in order to secure a new world order. My survey will not repeat what has been said and printed and what is known. What I want to do is to make you understand the wonderful spirit which has till now surrounded all the thought and action of our Women's International League. The concrete work is not the chief thing. The great thing which distinguishes our Women's League from all other international organizations is the spirit in which we women have stood together. This spirit gave a freedom and power to our work which alone is capable of leading to mutual understanding, and if once practised by nations and governments will give to the world peace and freedom.

That there is nothing new in the history of mankind is disproved by the founding of our Women's League. Never before had women of different nations joined together while their men were fighting each other on the field of battle. At a time when towns and forests were the victims of flames, when women were misused, when national frontiers and seas were under strict military control, when governments were full of hate and greedy for national advancement and wealth, when the culture, art, and civilization of centuries were destroyed, when the whole world was out of balance,—at such a time women from fourteen nations found the courage to stand together in mutual good will. They opposed their governments, peoples, written laws, customs, and

traditions. They opposed the greatest crime that mankind has committed—the world war—and tried to force the governments to put an end to the cruel slaughter and destruction. With the founding of our League a new chapter in the history of women's international work began. That women did not succeed at that time does not make their work less valuable; it is only a proof of the short-sightedness of governments and peoples.

Many who hear today of the women's work in 1915 ask in astonishment how it was possible for women to come together at that time. It was possible because in the different countries, in opposition to a man-made civilization, there were everywhere women who kept their feminine individuality, their sane instinct and creative intuition. These women did not ask for political rights, for participation in political life, merely in order to continue the style of politics which men had introduced into the world. They wished to change politics entirely, and to contribute their peculiar gifts to the task of bringing about a more balanced world. They realized strongly that they had not only duties to fulfill toward their own nation; they felt their responsibility toward all humanity. This gave to women from belligerent and neutral countries the power to stand against a world in arms. The governments of the neutral states had not the courage to oppose the world war; they were afraid of financial loss, afraid of the military forces of big states. But the women of these countries gave hospitality to the women of the belligerent countries, and at The Hague in May, 1915, they worked together in the effort to end the war.

When our League was founded in 1915 it was given the name of "Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace." In 1919, at Zürich, we changed the name to "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom." Only when freedom is secured is permanent peace possible, and only when women are free personalities will they be real workers for peace. Our name alone is a program.

I do not know another international organization which has such a free and simple constitution as ours; it contains only a few paragraphs. For nine years we have worked splendidly with it. Why? Because it allows so much freedom, and the women who uphold it are convinced that freedom does not mean license; they know that freedom gives to everybody a great responsibility. Our free constitution has never been abused in order to crush

Sections or to secure advantages to some individuals, as is usually the case in other international organizations or in dealings between nations.

Let me give you some more examples of our spiritual co-operation. At a time when the whole world stood against Germany, our members elected to the Board a German woman who became Vice President. In 1921, of ten members of the Board, two were German and one Austrian. What this meant will be clear to everyone who realizes that there are still today international organizations which do not include Germans. In our Women's League it was possible, not because the League was pro-German, but because each member felt responsible not only for her own nation, but for the whole world. Those who feel such responsibility never say, "My country, right or wrong," but are always ready to criticize their own country or their own government when it is in the wrong. The German members in our League always severely condemned the Prussian militarism and the invasion of Belgium at the beginning of the war. They did all they could at that time to make the world understand that they opposed their government. When German women came in January, 1915, to Amsterdam to prepare the Congress of The Hague they were convinced of the great crime that Germany had committed against Belgium; and because they felt this, it was possible for them to come to a mutual understanding and work together with Belgian and French women.

In 1919 at Zürich, English, French, and American women opposed and criticized with great energy the Peace Treaty of Versailles, which was then just published. Envoys were sent to the representatives of the Allies at Paris to ask them to revise the peace treaties. From that time on, in spite of public opinion and press criticism, the Women's International League has stood by its principles, and it called a special Conference at The Hague in 1922 to ask for a New Peace. Our League did this, not because it wanted to get advantages for this or that country, but because the so-called Peace Treaties were not peace treaties; they bore in themselves the germs of a new war.

The world war and all that was connected with it has shown that the basis of international life is fundamentally false. Hate, envy, greed, and brutal egoism are destructive powers; they lead to wars and revolutions, because they bring great riches on one side, and poverty, unemployment, and hunger on the other side.

If we had found in 1915 and in 1919 governments and nations ready to fulfill our demands as laid down in our Resolutions passed at The Hague and at Zürich, then, we can say without boasting, constructive work would have been done; the world would be nearer to sane international relations, and the peoples would be happier and more contented.

We in our League have not only preached mutual understanding and cooperation; we have tried to live up to our own principles. That was not always easy in these nine years of great sorrow and struggle. We have members of all political parties and of all faiths in our League. But when difficulties have arisen we have every time found a way to friendly agreement without forcing the decision of a majority upon a minority. We have always tried to use the abilities of our co-workers in the interests of the League, and everybody has been willing to forego her own personal desires. In other international organizations you can become a member and be of help if you pay your fee. But that is not enough for us. To be a good member you have to change entirely; you have to give up all violence; you have to become a free personality yourself, and permit freedom to all your co-workers.

At The Hague in 1915 women from 14 nations came together. Today we are connected with 39 nations. Our circle has become world-wide. We can say today: The sun does not set on our League. That is a wonderful feeling, but it gives us the greater responsibility. There is danger that the old spirit, born in a time of deep sorrow, will perhaps not be understood and practised by all. Time goes on. The world war is over. New times demand new deeds and new conditions, new work, and perhaps even new principles. We must not forget that history is evolution. Time must find us ready. We can only conquer if we stand together with the same courage, with the same self-respect and faith in what women have to give to the world, as did the women in 1915. Women of the world, be true to yourselves. Do not believe your governments or your press; they often tell you lies. Do not uphold your laws when they are wrong. Do not rely any longer on violence. Trust your own feelings. Make yourselves free and give freedom to others, and mutual understanding and peace will always be in our League and lead our cause to victory.

Let our name—Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—be also in future our program.

Headquarters Report

By Vilma Glücklich, Headquarters Secretary

It is a great pleasure to see among the members of our Congress many of those who have been guests at our Maison Internationale in Geneva, the picturesque small building upon the ancient wall of the city, where our Headquarters has its seat. On the top of the wall a charming bit of a garden surprises the visitor. On the ground floor the large, cozy library offers a fine choice of good peace literature and plenty of periodicals from all the world. Just in front of it is the dining room, used also for the mechanical part of the work: mimeographing, copying, addressing, etc. One flight of stairs leads up to the two office rooms and the so-called Chicago-and-Swedish room, to the furniture of which the Chicago Branch and the Swedish Section have contributed; just as have the New York Branch and the Austrian Section to that of the New York-and-Vienna rooms; and Wellesley College, in order to help Miss Balch, to the furniture of the office. There is accommodation for twelve people in the house, and it gets very crowded at the time of the League of Nations Assembly, in September. During the winter—like all the boarding houses at Geneva—it gets rather empty, especially because permanent boarders cannot be taken in as we want to be able to receive guests from abroad. The present directress of our house, Miss Helen Holmes from Massachusetts, takes care of our guests in the kindest way. The office puts them into touch with those international organizations which they are most interested in, and helps them to make their stay in Geneva as useful and pleasant as possible.

The oldest member of our office staff is Mme. Tunas, who had to give all the information about its former work when both Miss Balch and Mlle. Gobat were unexpectedly obliged to give up their work in the office. She has to direct the drudgery part of the work, such as issuing and sending out our messages and publications, and she corresponds in German and French.

In the editing and translating of our publications, one of the most important parts of our work, a change seems to be advisable. Our Bulletin, issued since the Vienna Congress, cannot be edited oftener than every second month. If the contributions from the Sections and fellow workers are late in coming in, it is delayed even longer, especially because printing in Geneva is a

rather slow business. As our experience shows that very few of our members, even of the most enthusiastic and competent ones, read it regularly, while short articles, such as Jane Addams' Christmas Message, Romain Rolland's address, Mrs. Swanwick's article on The New British Government and Peace, are read much more, I should like to propose that we give up the Bulletin, and that there may be substituted for it, first, leaflets of not more than twenty pages, containing articles on some actual question; second, news letters; each to be issued as often as material of interest can be supplied.

We should in this way, I hope, satisfy those Sections and Associate Members who are complaining now that our publications do not come frequently enough; we should economize in printing expenses, because printing the leaflets would be much simpler than printing the Bulletin. The expenses for postage might be slightly raised, but the difference could not be great, as the weight of both leaflets and news letters would be considerably less than that of the Bulletin. Mailing publications more frequently, we should probably need an addressograph, the cost of which would soon be saved as we should no longer need the outside help required for the writing of addresses. Moreover, it would be easier to get the press interested in our material, as it would be fresher and more easily examined.

Last winter we sent out a modest calendar as a gift which might be used by Sections, Executive, Consultative and Associate Members. It came between the time of the arrival of the most welcome news that our United States Section had generously invited the Congress for this year, and of the more definite news about the Congress arrangements without which no Bulletin could go out. This calendar came out rather late, and although it was quite cheap we could not sell very many. Should there be a demand for it this year it would have to go out much earlier, and we should try to make it a financial success.

The Geneva office is trying to take every opportunity to organize public or private meetings for propaganda and discussion. May I mention some of these, arranged for during the last year: Peace and Free Trade, by Lord Sheffield and Sir George Paish; Peace and Freedom from the Quaker standpoint, by Carl Heath; The work of Reconciliation in Germany, by Frieda Perlen; The work of Reconciliation in France, by Gabrielle Duchêne; The Abolition of the Right to War, by Professor Milhaud; The Peace

of Europe, by Pierre Hamp; Kant's International Political Ideal, by Professor Benrubi; etc.

We keep constantly in touch with the international organizations residing in Geneva, especially with the League of Nations Secretariat and with the International Labor Office. We get information of the details of their work, and keep them informed of ours. We discuss important questions with competent members of these offices, and ask for their help where we as an unofficial body would not be able to act. Last year we were very much concerned with the resolution the League Council passed in July, to the effect that resolutions and documents received from international organizations would not be circularized to the members of the League. It was amended last December in so far that a list of these documents will be presented to the members of the Council, so that each of them will be able to propose some of them to be taken up for discussion. But we must try to have the question again brought up in the next Assembly by some of the delegates.

We have appealed to the League of Nations for a solution of the question of Reparations; for an intervention in the Italo-Greek conflict; for the subvention of the Committee protecting deported women and children in the Near East being maintained; against the above-mentioned resolution of the Council, etc.

Following up the resolutions of the Executive Meeting at Dresden, we appealed to the United States Government to release all political prisoners; to the British Government to release Gandhi; to the Governments of all those countries where the National Section desired it, to release their political prisoners.

The famous pedagogical college in Geneva, the Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau, is in sincere sympathy with our movement, and its most prominent members have helped us many a time by their cooperation in meetings, by investigations into the effect of militarism on children and other psychologic factors which are an obstacle to the development of a pacifistic mentality, etc. We meet with helpfulness and sympathy from most of the international organizations residing at Geneva; they have all been invited lately by Dr. Nitobe, second Secretary of the League of Nations, to monthly gatherings in order to discuss a plan for a seven years' campaign for Peace, proposed by Gustav Spiller. It is to be hoped that this opportunity for cooperation will bring about a real progress toward the realization of our principles.

We have a large correspondence with people interested in Peace all over the world: scientists, politicians, authors, artists, propagandists, etc. We give and get information, encourage action in harmony with our principles, discuss and refuse suggestions which do not correspond to our line of work, get pacifists whose difficulties are due to isolation into touch with people interested in their work, etc.

Our work could be made much more effective than it has been hitherto, if National Sections would keep us promptly informed of the most recent events in their countries in connection with our ideas, and if Executive Members would give us as promptly as possible their opinions about questions coming up. The office is at a deadlock each time when a decision has to be taken: Sections have been asked for information, and Executive Members for their advice, and answers are not coming in. Please never forget that human lives may sometimes be saved if we are able to act speedily!

I consider the Geneva office as a center of our cooperation, for the efficiency of which we are all responsible. Each suggestion that may serve to improve our work is a much appreciated contribution toward the result of our efforts. Please help us to keep high the intellectual and moral standard of our work, and to find the means for carrying out good suggestions.

Financial Statement

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann, Financial Secretary, reported that there was still money in the treasury, but as more would be needed in about ten months or a year she advised an effort to obtain more International members, saying: We have found that if we should get 2,000 International members, which is not so very many when you think that we are working all over the earth, we might even run the Bureau with the money that they would bring in—at least a very great part of it. We have about 700 International members, but I am sorry to say that some of them sometimes forget to pay their dues.

The President added that the money for carrying on the international work hitherto had been largely raised at the Congresses, and it was difficult at such times to raise enough for two years. We had now about \$6,000 promised, which would take us to May, 1925; but of course we would not have another Congress until 1926, and it was that second year which was always so difficult.



LIDA GUSTAVA HEYMANN, Honorary Vice President
Germany

[Faint handwritten notes and markings]

Political Aspects of a New International Order

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams: I do not propose to sketch even in vaguest outline a new political organization of the world, and this for the best of reasons—I do not know how it is going to develop. But though I don't know what exact form the New International Order may take, I do know the principles on which it must be based in order that our program may be carried out, and I know the first steps which it appears to me we must take to lay the foundations of that new order. And remember, in laying the foundations we must have the intelligent cooperation of mankind. It is no good going faster than we can carry our fellows with us. Every stone must be based on consent. The chief force which built up the old political order was fear—the most dehumanizing of human failings, the begetter of hate, racial and social injustices, and cruelties.

Fear was the basis of our pre-war diplomacy, of the balance of power. The Treaty of Versailles, with its lies and cruelties, sprang from fear. Our post-war international troubles have the same source. Fear has prompted the attempt on the part of France to break up and destroy Germany and to build up a new military hegemony of Europe. Fear prompted Britain to break its word to Egypt and to imprison and banish Zaghloul. Now a policy of courage has been forced upon Britain, and Egypt is free and we hope will go forward in cooperation with us. In India the same thing is true. It is fear which has delayed the granting of home rule to India and equality of opportunity to our brothers who dwell there. India must have her Swaraj, and that soon. It is only fear which delays it. I am not inordinately proud of that institution called the British Empire, but I do believe that the British Empire may, if it casts out fear, become a bond to unite East and West, and we may go forward as brothers in cooperation and good will.

The old political order was based on fear; we must produce an atmosphere in which fear cannot grow. When in our laboratories we want to grow particular organisms we constitute carefully the atmosphere which suits them. We must produce an atmosphere in which fear cannot grow. The work of the present British Government has been directed to this end. The provision that all treaties shall be laid on the table of the House of Commons, the reiterated statement of the English Prime Minister that he desires to cooperate with France, the abandonment

of the naval base at Singapore, all will, we hope, help to clear away the horrible miasma of fear. But we must do more than this, we must set free human energy for creating the new order. I believe there is such a source of energy, the universal human desire to serve their fellows. The militarists understand and use this desire. It is a possible source of untold power which could give life to the new political order we long for.

Dr. Nadja Surowzowa: Events in eastern Europe have taken place on a bigger scale than elsewhere. This is the case with the war and its consequences. The great imperialist war, a number of nationalist wars, civil wars, and race wars (Jewish pogroms) have all been waged in the last ten years. After these events a wave of democracy swept over Europe, from the British Labour Party up to the Soviet Unions. The labor question, the land question, the question of state insurance, came to the front.

A number of new national states were formed, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Ukraine, and other republics members of the Soviet Union. Some of these republics appear to be independent, but are really slaves of new masters.

The question of minorities has been aggravated. Over ten million Ukrainians have become against their will a Polish minority. Over seven million Germans, millions of Hungarians, and others, have become minorities in alien states. The blockade, that most cruel "peaceful" method, has had more than four million famine victims in the Ukraine and Russia alone.

The result of these experiences has been absolute pacifism. We do not want wars, which are only products of masked exploitation. We do not want to make business profits from wars, and afterwards be faced with war debts. We feel the necessity for a New International Order to be erected on the principles of the Women's International League. Education alone, the reading of books, the fighting against war as such, are not sufficient. War is only one of many manifestations of one cause—social inequality. As long as we do not fight the cause, other measures will be merely palliatives. Human relations must no longer be based on exploitation of classes, nations, and races.

I could wish that our work were as well organized as that of international capitalists. All profits made by the collective energy of the human intellect and labor in the exploitation of natural resources must belong to humanity as a whole, and not to a privileged group. There must not be any overproduction.

That is in the interest of a small group, and causes unemployment, competition for markets, war or revolution. Production and consumption must be regulated by an international body. This body must be representative of the peoples, and on a different basis from the League of Nations as at present constituted, the work of which is unproductive because America, the Soviet Unions, and Germany are not represented.

In order to establish a real and perpetual peace we must solve these problems, the causes of all war. Otherwise they will lead us to inconceivable catastrophe.

Jeannette Rankin: The human spirit cannot be conquered by negative measures, by a choice between expediences, by devotion to faulty political machinery. It must be won by a positive vision of a world at peace, a world in which life and not death is honored, humanity and not wealth is valued, love and not hate is practised. Just as it is necessary for an individual to be convinced of the waste and futility of war in order to be moved to work for peace, so must a nation see that war is a crime before there can be the spiritual awakening that will make it possible to find another way out.

This will come when we are convinced that the moral laws which apply to the individual are equally immutable when applied to groups of individuals, even when those groups are as large as nations. Then it will be made unlawful for the nation to do the things that are forbidden the individual. Now, while it is against the law for the individual to lie, steal, and kill, there is immunity for nations that break these moral laws. The first step toward making retribution possible is for the nations to declare war a crime.

Not merely must war be proclaimed a crime but international law must be codified on that basis, and the International Court given affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide controversies. Then we can trust enlightened public opinion to enforce the judgments. As long as war is legal just so long will occasions arise where war will be the arbiter. No political machinery is a safe instrument for the prevention of war while war is the law of nations.

Furthermore, not until war is made a disreputable crime can the power of physiological forces be used effectively against war. Dr. Dewey says: "Where war is a crime by the law of nations, conscience is on the side of the law of one's community, and law

is on the side of conscience." Today the fomenters of war, the imperialists, militarists, and profiteers, are on the side of law when they work for war. The great masses of people, women, organized workers, and workers on the soil, may be working against the law when they work for peace. Obviously the first step is to put the law on the side of the masses, and free their initiative to work for the removal of the causes of war.

We can begin today at the root of the situation. A great political power has come into the hands of new groups of people far removed from the profits and glory of war. Fortunately the women and workers are fast gaining experience. The electorate must learn that every vote cast is a vote for or against war. It must learn that a vote for any candidate whose character and philosophy of life is unknown, whether for the highest or lowest office, may be a vote for war.

Every legislative body, from the town meeting to the highest body, considers measures that make for war or for peace. Everyday issues may have far-reaching significance. The chosen representatives of the voters decide: Shall the children be permitted to know all the facts concerning the causes and results of war? or, shall they know only the laudatory monuments? Shall the youth be free from compulsory military training and all that goes with it? Shall laws be enacted to oppress the weak and concentrate irresponsible economic and political power, or shall they be written to adjust inequalities? Shall the appropriation of the people's money be for those activities which make for war, or for a finer adjustment of human relations? The elector decides these questions when voting for candidates.

Who wants war if there can be found another way out of the difficulty? We can find another way out just as soon as we have a will to find it. We can do it when we decide to class it with the "destroyers" and make it disreputable. We can do it just as soon as the great body of men and women can be made to realize that there is a simple and understandable plan: to declare war the crime that it is, and by international agreement make that crime impossible.*

Lotte Heller: The connection between foreign affairs and domestic policy is already well known by the peoples of Europe. We in Austria watch anxiously the results of the elections in France and Germany. We expected very much from the British Labour Party. But governments do not seem to have yet arrived

* See Resolutions passed by the Congress on page 137.

at insight. States are still based on the principles of power. As a single group has tried in the past to live at the expense of another group, so nowadays states want to live at the expense of other states. Governments have not yet learned what peoples have learned; they still believe that they can maintain their power through overlordship and dominion. In spite of this, to pacifists world peace is not merely a beautiful dream. It is the pacifists who work for the development of the world. But pacifism must get a universal stride.

It may perhaps seem a little ungrateful if an Austrian is not quite happy and contented with the order and peace established by the League of Nations. I know that the League of Nations has got an excellent press, especially here in America, but I am obliged to state that it has not satisfied Austria. It was the League of Nations which imposed on our little country Mr. Zimmermann and his commission, costing us one hundred and forty-four millions of crowns yearly.

When I have asked myself why we have come to the United States, why we did not continue our work on British soil, so favorable for us, I have come to the conclusion, especially since arriving here, that the United States have not only a great deal to give to Europe, but that they too need Europe.

I go on and ask myself: Why are we a Women's League? Why don't we work together with men? The answer is that we remain among ourselves in order not to be tempted to employ methods adopted by men.

We don't need big programs. We need one great International, but unfortunately Capitalism is the only International nowadays. Capitalists have well understood the necessity of international relations. That the need of such relations has not yet been recognized by everybody is to be explained from the differences in human nature. There are men who are progressive and live in the present time with an outlook to the future, and others who are reactionary and always look to the past. Women ought to spread understanding and knowledge on these questions everywhere. Only the whole mass of people can make a movement effective in our days, and this must be done without the loss of individuality and personality.

Marie Johnson: The New World Order must mean:

1. A breakaway from the present political parties, out of the hands of the capitalist financiers who have controlled govern-

ments, nations, and armies, who at the present time make war, and then, when satisfied with the division made among peoples, pretend to make peace in order to again build up their pooled resources to prepare for the next war.

2. A clearance of the fogs of misunderstanding between classes, creeds, races, and sexes. Subject nations must be freed. Ireland, out of her seven hundred years of subjection, now has her first experience in leaving behind her obsession of subjection to Britain; and, having been given a certain measure of freedom, she is at last engaged in trying to build up a new nation with international ideals. Tolerance with other classes until class is no longer a term to be recognized, and all become a brotherhood of units within the commonwealth of nations of the future world order.

3. Peoples in each individual country must no longer act like the hosts of Midian. If people were left to themselves there would be no war. In my country where we have two parliaments—one in six small counties, the second for twenty-six counties, with a population of only four millions—that fear of each other which Dr. Williams emphasizes as the basis of misunderstanding, prevents even today our expansion as we would desire from narrow nationalism to internationalism.

If women are to be the progressive force for a new ideal, much education is needed. In Ireland we find that women, having been given equal responsibilities, are often content to evade them, or to transfer them to those who are keen for party or for self-interest. Women must resist even the dictates of their country, their class, or their sex, if those dictates are false to the New World Order.

Katherine Cumberson, describing a national political problem which has to be settled right for the New International Order, said: It is important to have correct information on some of the aspects of the Japanese problem which has developed in California during the past few years, and which has finally resulted in a measure, passed by both Houses of Congress, for the exclusion from America of the Japanese race, with the exception of those known as non-immigrants.

The subject of immigration is both a domestic and an international one; therefore it is of transcendent importance not only to the people of the United States but also to the entire world. In this day of seeking to find methods whereby amicable relations

may be maintained between nations, immigration laws should not only regulate the coming of the alien, but should also establish and record friendship and good will between peoples.

The present acute situation is occasioned specifically by the increase in population and in land ownership of the Japanese in California, which has created an economic condition that has been fanned into an intense racial hatred by the politicians, who have made capital out of the situation, and used it as material with which to kindle their own political bonfires. The result of this is the above mentioned Japanese exclusion bill, which has created violent tension between Japan and the United States.

No one will question the right of a nation to choose the peoples that will eventually become part of her commonwealth, but we should voice our protest against the very crude and undiplomatic manner with which this action of our United States Congress has been accomplished.

Because of the constantly increasing agitation that may at any time bring on some act of violence which might create a serious situation between our country and Japan, it may be well to suspend immigration of the Japanese for a period. But I wish as a Californian to bear witness that the Japanese in California are as a rule a temperate, courteous, clean, hard-working, law-abiding, thrifty people. It is rare to find them in our jails, reformatories, almshouses, or insane asylums. It is true that the Japanese immigrants bring with them a lower standard of living than our own people enjoy, but they soon rise to the level about them. As for the Japanese children in school, the teachers welcome them because of their good example in cleanliness, excellent manners, obedience to discipline, and studious habits.

Alice Park, speaking of mendacious press propaganda, said: The press—the ordinary newspapers of wide circulation—promotes hatred of the Japanese especially in California, and fear of war with Japan. This applies not to labor and radical papers, but to the general press. Exaggerated reports are printed and repeated that assert that Japan is increasing her equipment for war. Absurd statistics are published about the increase of Japanese population in California. Never would newspapers print the fact that Japan has taken militarism out of their school textbooks. The press prevents readers from understanding foreign affairs.

Catherine P. Karavéloff spoke of the great sufferings of her

country, Bulgaria; and showed how terrible are the results of disunion and war and unjust treatment. She told of how Bulgaria was long under Turkish control, and when it seemed about to be freed was made the prey of political intrigues which divided the population and created a condition in which a permanent settlement was impossible. She showed further how the intrigues of the great powers created discord among the neighbors in the Balkans who ought to have been brothers. She spoke of the love of peace of the Bulgarian people, of their horror over the world war, and of the generous treatment which they knew how to show to their enemies, notably in the case of an English officer who, when wounded, was amazed to find that one of the Bulgarian officers had given him his bed, and was himself sleeping on the ground. She told of the terrible situation created by the presence of so many refugees coming from adjoining countries, happy to be in Bulgaria but finding life impossible under the conditions created by the treaties by which the war was closed, and described the sufferings and the broken condition of her country as a result of war.

Abolition of Conscription

Eugenie M. Meller: A political fashion at the end of the nineteenth century was "balance of power," which meant here a dreadnought, there a submarine. When this balance was upset the result was a world war. The accumulation of arms and ammunition, the work of financial interests, must end in war.

With us women disarmament means a very simple, plain question. The Washington Disarmament Conference, resulting in partial disarmament, was a disappointment. Nevertheless it was a proof of the intense desire of people for a real peace and for relief from unbearably heavy burdens.

The Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations, although clad in modern attire, reminds us most vividly of a corporation called The Hague Conference, the task of which seemed to be to organize, or as they thought, to "humanize" war. You know with what result. The members of the Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations also are generals who contemplate the questions laid before them from a merely strategic, military standpoint. When this Committee was enlarged by civil experts it engendered the "Draft Treaties of Mutual Assistance," of which this Congress is to hear further.

We women, especially in defeated countries and of disarmed nations, cannot understand the difficulties, problems, and complications of this question. It seemed quite simple to disarm these nations by the so-called Peace Treaties. Why cannot these treaties be followed up by others for the similar disarmament of victorious nations?

We women will not have any wars any more, and therefore call loudly, "Not a single man and not a cent for such purposes."

Capital Punishment

Mary Winsor: The world has progressed somewhat from the time when the Roman father had the right to put his child to death, but we have not yet progressed beyond the point where the state stands in loco parentis, and assumes the right of the Roman father to put its citizens to death.

Now, it seems to me that this question of capital punishment should be considered in its broader relation to war and to conscription. I would not so insult this audience as to suggest that there is a person here who believes in capital punishment. I do not believe it. If we do not believe in the right of a state to take the life of even what we consider a guilty man, how much more repugnant is it that the state can order any one of us at any minute to assist in the work of wholesale slaughter and a wholesale taking of life! The men are needed to do the actual bloody work. The women can be conscripted to back up the men, to work in the industries, to attend to the feeding of the country while the men are engaged in slaughter. Thus all of us can be at any moment, at the will of our Government, made the hangmen and hangwomen and executioners of our fellow-people.

So we are perfectly consistent with ourselves when we set our faces like flint against capital punishment everywhere, and press on with the larger task of doing away with conscription and war—all military conscription everywhere.

Moreover I hope we will come to the point before we leave where we will adopt a resolution saying that we stand for immediate, complete disarmament; and where every Section will work for the disarmament of its own country, regardless of what the people of other countries are doing; and where the National Sections will compete with each other for obtaining the honor of being the first to disarm.

Free Trade

W. Gladys Rinder: I am glad to say a few words on Free Trade. Tariffs are a great hindrance to international good will. They have three serious defects:

1. A monopoly is created for the country imposing the tariff, thus placing other nations at an economic disadvantage.

2. This monopoly leads to rising prices in the country imposing the tariff.

3. A small section of the community gains by this monopoly, but the mass of people always suffer.

An extreme example of the effect of tariffs in bringing profits to the few at the expense of the many is to be found in the use of the customs barriers and license duties imposed by the French between occupied and unoccupied Germany. Tariffs have been used there to compel firms to accept agreements. The dye works, for instance, were told that if they agreed to the deliveries demanded, their high duty would be reduced. In addition to this form of pressure the system of tariffs and licenses has enabled the French to undersell the German motor car manufacturers, thus to a great extent displacing German motor cars in the occupied territory, and adding to the terribly high number of German unemployed.

Tariffs can be used as weapons, but unlike other weapons they can be used without protest in periods of peace. Had it not been for the accession of our British Labour Party to office we in the British Empire would by now have imposed the extensive preferential tariffs put forward at the Imperial Conference. The British Section of the Women's International League protested strongly against these proposals, and will do its utmost to oppose them if they are revived. We cannot establish the New Order we all desire, so long as tariffs remain as barriers to international cooperation. Artificial barriers between countries must go. It may be impossible to introduce free trade at once in every country, but if every National Section works for this object we shall in the very near future abolish tariffs—those expressions of international competition and ill will—and substitute the full and free interchange of goods on a cooperative basis.

Draft Treaties of Mutual Guarantee

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams: The object of the Draft Treaty is to facilitate disarmament. It is supposed that nations will only

agree to a measure of disarmament if they know that in case they are attacked other armies would stand beside them. It is very improbable that the suggested Treaty would lead to reduction of armaments. It might quite possibly lead in some cases to an increase, for nations will insist that their fellow nations who have united with them in the Treaty should keep their forces up to a certain strength.

Again, all are to come to the aid of any one nation against an aggressor. The Council of the League of Nations is to decide in four days who is the aggressor. Under modern international conditions it is impossible to decide this question. France says she is not the aggressor in the Ruhr; Italy said she was not the aggressor at Corfu.

But the experts tell us that this general treaty would not meet the need of nations for security. A nation needs definite and specific security against a threatened danger. To meet this it is suggested that there should be recognized more restricted treaties within the general framework of the Treaty.

A country, A, considers itself threatened by B. The support of countries X and Y will be useless in case of attack. What A needs in order to feel secure is promise of support from C and D, and further it must have knowledge of the exact form in which C and D will help: how many men, warships, airplanes, submarines, what poison gas, and so on. And further, as dangers change in form from time to time, experts of the nations A, C, and D must elaborate fresh plans to meet them. In fact, the League of Nations will become under this scheme a place for the elaboration of plans for future wars. The attention of the Council will be concentrated on force and the organization of force, instead of upon conciliation and justice.

Any partial military treaty would be injurious to the solidarity of the League of Nations, and would reintroduce the worst features of the balance of power.*

A United States of Europe

Dr. Anita Augspurg: A desire to establish a union of the States of Europe is nothing new. Such plans have been discussed for centuries, but they have become urgent only in our own day, with its great development of intercourse by railroads, telegraphs, and wireless.

* See Resolutions passed by the Congress on page 137.

One of the advocates of a United States of Europe, Dr. N. R. Coudenhove of Vienna, says in his book "Pan-Europe": "If the political technique cannot be made adequate to the present-day technique of intercourse, this will lead to terrible catastrophes." One of these catastrophes has been the World War.

Referring to Monroe's endeavors toward a Pan America as early as 1823, he says further: "It is characteristic that America, technically the most advanced continent, was also the first to effect this step forward." Surely in our time the principle, "No longer separation but synthesis," should prevail in the political field—"No more Great Powers, but subdivisions of the Globe."

The history of Europe is the history of a series of European wars. A reduction of the number of European States, or their combination into a federation, is identical with a reduction of the sources of friction. This is proved by facts. Ancient Greece was unable to overcome the internal struggles for hegemony of her City-States, and after the climax of such struggles in the Peloponnesian War she became an easy prey of Macedonia, and ultimately was subdued by Rome. Medieval Italy was a permanent battlefield of innumerable kings, dukes, and republics competing with one another; she only made important advances in wealth and welfare in our own time when her former unity was reestablished. The same can be said of Germany. While it was much earlier that England and France accomplished the same thing with the same success, very much to their advantage. Nowadays war within these national unities is unthinkable; formerly it was the rule.

Wars between the single European States convulse the world. Their unity throughout the whole breadth of the continent would give great hopes of world peace.

Let us look at the example of America. Her economic unity is represented by the United States, while her political unity in the form of Pan America is in process of consolidation. Europe still is separated, economically and politically, into twenty-six separate States and seven small territories. "Their incomparable progress the United States of America owe to their unity. Its indescribable decay Europe owes to its disunion," is another quotation of striking truth from Coudenhove's book, "Pan-Europe." Europe's political potentialities are seriously handicapped by those twenty-six sources of friction. Through this cause she has lost much of her prestige. Once the center of the world, she is now relegated to the periphery.

Among the objections made to the plan for a Pan Europe is the suggestion of the jealousy that would be felt by Asia and America. I cannot admit this argument so long as the Monroe Doctrine remains in force. The sentence, "America for the Americans," implies, "America does not interfere with European matters." The sole cause for interference has been the great European War. Such a cause would not exist if there were a United States of Europe. Its establishment would be a relief, not a menace for other continents. Economically the United States of America are perfectly independent and self-supporting. They protect their industries by tariffs against European imports. Therefore there is no economic menace, and the exchange of cultural and spiritual goods would not be interrupted by consolidation of the European States.

Another danger is predicted in relation to the League of Nations. But on the contrary, what prove to be dangerous to the authority of the League of Nations are not American, not Asiatic, not even American-East-Asiatic problems, but European problems. It was one of the separate European powers which seduced the League of Nations into resigning its dignity, its inviolable jurisdiction.

Only the abolition of European competition and jealousy can restore the moral credit of the League of Nations and make its task possible. Only by the federation of European States can that competition be abolished. Therefore the establishment of the United States of Europe means the establishment of world peace, or at least an effective step toward it.

Dorothy Evans: We are all in favor of uniting states together; of bringing about wider and wider federations of states. This slogan, "United States of Europe," seems a good one at the first glance. It is very important to have a good slogan, but in my opinion this one would be purchased at too great a cost.

We are all aiming at setting up a world organization or Parliament in which all states shall stand on an absolutely equal footing, but partial federations and alliances are not always steps toward this end. Tendencies of states to unite in groups produce the old system of balance of power, and draft treaties of mutual assistance which is resuscitation of that idea under a new name. These tendencies are not an advance toward world unity, but are the greatest menace to that ideal. To unite the whole of Europe is better than any possibility likely to come out

of these treaties; still it is not the best we can aim at. It is too low an aim.

The name would cause confusion, leading people to believe we wish to set up for Europe a Federal Government like that of the United States of America—admirable, but not suitable for Europe. It is a far cry to the time when we are ready for unarmed cooperation and a common constitution. Europe has an extraordinary variety of culture; America absorbs all its citizens into one culture. Do we want a uniform European culture? No. We want to unite the whole world, not one continent. We give a handle to our opponents if we adopt a slogan which seems to point to a swamping of national individuality and culture. A federation of Europe is not going to bring nearer a world body.

War psychology makes a United States of Europe less possible than a World Parliament. We look to a World Parliament.

Lucie Dejardin thought we had not a basis for adequate judgment, and that it was a question to be decided very carefully, particularly with reference to the results which would follow. We ought to be sure before we adopt this proposal that it will not turn into a militarist channel and take the form of a militaristic alliance. In Belgium they have opposed a treaty with France on this ground. Therefore it is logical to regard this question with reference to particular form and particular kind.

Marcelle Capy: I believe that the idea of a United States of Europe is dangerous to the peace of the world; for its carrying out, which would not be in the hands of pacifists, would result in the strengthening of the capitalism of Europe, and the creation of a European imperialism directed against the New World and Asia. This concentration would produce war between the continents.

Lida Gustava Heymann: I am sorry to oppose my co-worker Marcelle Capy. It seems to me Pan Europa is the only practicable thing to save Europe from total ruin. It is an economic question of primary importance. All these little states with their frontiers and taxations cannot live by themselves; they must unite for cooperation, and become one economic body. No, as I see it, Pan Europa never means war; on the contrary, Pan Europa means peace, cooperation, understanding, new force, not only for Europe, but for the world. The best thing that could happen would be for France and Germany to begin to reestablish the empire of Charlemagne. I want to point out to all who, in

connection with Pan Europa, have spoken of loss of culture, of war, and of a new constitution, that we do not want a unity which leads to those things. What we want is that quite a loose community of mutual help should come out of the chaos that war has produced.

Alice Thacher Post said she believed we were confused in considering this question by the implications of the words used. "Union" and "United" were strong words, signifying a close alliance, like that of marriage; and could only be used for an association of one culture and like race. There may come a time in the long distant future, when cultures and languages may merge. But at present nationalism, developed out of smaller families and groups, is not prepared to sacrifice its languages and its cultures. There are other words, like "federation" and "confederation," for example, which cover a looser relationship, and which might properly cover a suitable first step in international association.

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann: I think to create the United States of Europe would be fatal to the peace of the world. There are two plans: One without Russia and Britain, which to me seems a foolish idea. The second would imply a United States of all Europe, and also a United States of Asia, and of Africa, etc. But do you think that Great Britain would allow the British Empire to be thus broken up? And would Russia give up its union with Siberia and the Soviet republics in Asia? Besides, would it be any easier to unite France and Germany in the United States of Europe than it is in the League of Nations, where the moral power anyhow would be greater than in a United States of Europe? If a United States of Europe should be created it would be the beginning of another kind of militarism, perhaps even more dangerous than the present, as it would threaten the world with war between continents.

Rosika Schwimmer: I disagree in this question with the German speakers, and agree with Dorothy Evans. Before the World War, Pan Europe meant a step forward in states organization and I myself also used to advocate the formation of the United States of Europe. Sir Max Wachter of London was at the head of the Pan European movement. Before the war the United States of Europe would have displaced the dangerous and secret alliances and ententes. But the war has thrown us far beyond that, and anything short of a federation of all the states of the

world is dangerous for the peace of the world. Dr. Augspurg says that there is the United States of America as an example. But in reality there is no such thing as the United States of America. There are the United States of North America. Besides these, the continent of America contains Canada, Mexico, Central and South America.

Pan Europe is in the old sense of the word *passé* and dangerous, just like "Mittel Europa," or a Danube Federation, which are advocated by well-meaning but short-sighted pacifists. In the time of Louis Kossuth the Danube Federation would have been a sensible and valuable formation, a step toward Pan Europe. Today it would mean something to be fought over by the imperialists of France and those of Great Britain. And after the political earthquake that has shaken the world these last ten years Pan Europe would mean an organization powerful enough to force the United States of North America into a fight for desirable possessions in Asia or Africa.

But I wish to emphasize the fact that there will come a time when Pan Europe will become desirable and useful, even unavoidable. That will be when we achieve the Federation of the World in the sense of the New International Order which our Cahier outlines. The federation of each continent will then become an administrative necessity. But only then, and as an administrative measure, do I consider Pan Europe as desirable and useful.

Gabrielle Duchêne thought it not our place or the place of the Women's International League to make propaganda for the League of Nations. It was not the duty nor the business of our League to make propaganda for the United States of Europe. She regretted to see our League take any categorical position in this respect. We cannot take an absolute attitude regarding it. Our entire effort in this field should be directed toward the securing of free trade. Also it would be a good thing to try to educate the public on the subject, for they are very little informed. As to the United States of Europe with England or Russia out of it, that would be nothing at all. In general she found herself in agreement with the German members. This is in general a movement toward union, and we are in favor of peoples coming together and uniting, so it would seem to us in a general way that we should welcome such a movement toward union.



A GROUP FROM EASTERN EUROPE

Maria Aull, Czecho-Slovakia; Rosika Schimmer, Hungary; J. Budinska-Tylicka, Poland; Yella Hertzka, Austria; Milena Illová, Czecho-Slovakia; Lotte Heller, Austria; Dr. Olksana Khrapka-Dragomanova, Ukraine; Epaish Youssouf, Turkey; Catherine P. Karavéloff, Bulgaria; Eugenie M. Meller, Hungary; Vilma Glücklich, Hungary.

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Lucia Ames Mead: I propose something which has not yet been considered—a Customs Union of Europe. This will not increase militarism nor diminish the purity of separate cultures. The trade barriers have largely increased since the war. They are the source of bitterness and poverty. Let us have an economic union, for no political union is possible, and such a union would largely end the friction between nations.

Dorothy Evans closed the discussion, saying that she felt that it was only safe to have an alliance between nations if it included every one without exception, so that there was no nation left to feel the alliance to be a menace. Only thus could security be obtained and fear banished.

Propaganda to establish Chairs at Universities for the teaching of the Scientific Foundations of World Peace

Milena Illová: We had a series of public peace lectures last winter at our university in Prague. In all these lectures much was said about the scientific foundations of world peace, in ethics, economics, and justice, as matters of education. The final lecture was given by a general of our army who told of wars in future. I think this last lecture, explaining the use of new war material, was the best propaganda of all for peace.

Next door to the newly founded war museum there has been founded a peace museum, for which our Czecho-Slovak Section has collected and collects material. The last war gave us good material. Our noble President Marsaryk has given two million crowns to this museum.

Lotte Heller offered resolutions in regard to the founding of university chairs for peace, which were sent to the Resolutions Committee.*

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann: In 1914 preparations were ready for a University for International Law, but the War made it impossible to open it. Last year a school for International Law was opened at The Hague, a more modest thing than was planned before the War, yet of great importance. Only those who have studied law in their own countries are allowed as pupils.

* See Resolutions passed by the Congress on page 137.

Organization of a World-wide Press Service for Pacifistic Action

Rosika Schwimmer:* We are accustomed to blame many factors for war—diplomats, statesmen, capitalists, kings, and emperors, and with them in equal responsibility, the press. The press, however, is not an equal factor with the others, but it is the supreme factor for war, because only through the press can the war-mongers create the public opinion and stir the fear and hatred that lead to war. Through the centuries the press, like art, literature, and music, has served war.

The question of the press has always been one of the gravest problems of pacifistic efforts. But no radical solution has yet been attempted. Yet if the New International Order is to be achieved, we must concentrate on preventing or counteracting the prostitution of journalism, and changing it into a tool for construction.

I therefore propose the following resolutions:

1. Be it resolved that the Fourth Congress of the Women's International League, held in Washington, D. C., from May 1 to 7, 1924, elect a Committee of three (or five) experts amongst its members, to formulate concrete proposals for the establishment of a World-wide Press Service, for pacifist activities. The function of this press service shall be to furnish pacifist news to the press of the world, and to correct errors and misstatements in the press.
2. Further, the Committee shall formulate proposals for a Commission on International Press Legislation to safeguard historically truthful reporting of news, and to protect the honor of nations and individuals, not by coercion of the press, but through institutions like national and international press, juries, courts of honor, etc. The Committee shall report to the International Board of the W. I. L., which shall submit the proposal immediately to all National Sections for their approval, and put it on the agenda of the International Executive meeting of 1925.†

* Under date of April 29 Mme. Schwimmer resigned from the temporary Press Committee of the Congress, on the ground that she had accepted membership on the Committee with a wrong conception of its functions.

† These resolutions do not seem to have reached the Resolutions Committee, and were not acted upon by the Congress.

Economic Aspects of a New International Order*

By Marguerite Dumont

Before considering the economic aspects of a New International Order, I would first like to recall the actual economic causes of the World War. Then I shall make a brief survey of present economic conditions which may make for war. It may seem that I am limiting myself to but one phase of this subject; in reality, I am at the heart of it. The facts which are a basis for my statements have been given to me by M. Francis Delaisi, the French authority in economics. M. Delaisi is one of the best informed men in Europe, and I need hardly refer to his position as a student of world economics.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, German industrialism had reached such proportions that it was challenging British industrialism. As far back as 1900 there were signs of a coming conflict. At that time English diplomacy had already started to isolate Germany diplomatically. Germany, it will be recalled, was trying to expand toward the Balkans and the Near East, and was building the Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad. This line was completed except for the section through Serbia from Sarajevo to Salonica. To impede German expansion, England had planned a Danube-Adriatic railroad, which gave Russia access to Trieste, Italy, the Adriatic, and Marseilles. This second road was financed by French, English, Italian, and Russian banks. The two railroads would have crossed at Sarajevo. Serbia, whose only object was to have outlet to the sea for her products, supported the second railroad and refused passage to the German line. This was the real impasse which brought on the war; the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo was only the political pretext necessary for a declaration of war.

In spite of the terrible consequences of the last conflict, war is still threatening. There must be very powerful forces in operation to cause men to think of another war. What are they? For a long time M. Delaisi believed there were in every country a little group of powerful men—capitalists and industrialists—the development of whose affairs obliged them to clash with similar groups in other nations. French industrialism, for example, had need to develop itself, as did the industrialism of other nations, and when two groups of national industrialists encountered one another, international conflict followed.

* Ordered printed for distribution by vote of the Congress.

This may have been true once, but the modern world transforms itself rapidly, and today in studying the causes of war to come, one sees that war does not arise from national industrial groups but from international groups. We arrive at the paradox of international groups making national wars. For today, above national states there exist what may be termed super-states. These super-states are in violent struggle with one another. The most powerful are those of oil and steel. The super-state of oil is already starting friction between the United States and England. What appears to be a post-war struggle between France and Germany is really the struggle of two international industrial groups for control of the super-state of steel.

Oil, steel—what is the working of the groups whose interests center upon these two essential products of the economic world of today?

Let us first consider oil. In Europe is the Royal Dutch Shell oil group, an organization capitalized at more than a milliard of dollars, which alone indicates the tremendous scope of this company's operation. This huge organization is concerned with the apparently peaceful business of producing and selling oil. But one must not forget, however, that oil has become a war weapon. It is as necessary to a modern navy as up-to-date armament. Control of the world's oil means control of the seas. Hence the present struggle for oil, an economic contest charged with menace to world peace.

The Royal Dutch Shell group is international in its composition. The president is an Englishman, Sir Henri Deterding; its vice president is an Armenian, Mr. Gulbenkian; the main offices of the company are in Holland; its ships are English; and its oil fields are scattered over the face of the earth. Its refineries are in England, France, and other countries.

Now, when there are concessions to be secured, either for exploitation or ownership, these oil people must inevitably use politics to get them. In most cases oil concessions are under government control and the concession seeker must be able to put pressure upon governments to obtain what he wants. The story of the Mexican oil fields in and about Tampico is an obvious illustration of this. While it is difficult to lay bare the primal cause and effects in these situations, I think what happened recently in Mexico is not merely coincidence. The Royal Dutch Shell and the American Standard Oil Company are rivals in the

Tampico field. Recently the American Company secured certain commercial advantages. Then Sir Henri Deterding went to Mexico, remained there three weeks, and immediately after he sailed for home the De la Huerta revolution broke out. When the De la Huerta revolution assumed dangerous proportions, the American government supported the Obregon, or official régime, and sent cruisers to Tampico to "protect American interests." The oil question had suddenly become a reason for civil war; possibly the sole reason; and I am sure that there was many a Mexican who honestly fought for one party or the other never suspecting what interest he was really serving.

I need only mention Teapot Dome and its aftermath to show how inextricably intermingled these powerful commercial interests are with politics. Here is one more example. At the Genoa Conference it seemed for a time that a general European arrangement was becoming practicable. Thereupon the oil men swarmed down. Soviet Russia granted concessions to the English. The American observer protested; nothing was done; but from that day the conference had lost interest.

Now let us look at the **steel** business. A duel similar to that over oil is now taking place between France and Germany with steel as a stake. The contest is between two groups. The German group is headed by the Stinnes interests. The late Herr Stinnes was no more German in feeling than Sir Henri Deterding is English. The Stinnes organization was and still is a vast international system. It comprises coal mines in the Ruhr and iron ore interests in Spain and Sweden. Coal and iron are the raw materials of steel. The finished steel is sent to Magdeburg or Hamburg, where it is fabricated into railroad engines or electrical machinery. To create a market for this machinery, railroads are electrified in Argentina, factories opened in Italy, and other enterprises, as international in character as these, are undertaken in other countries. The Argentine companies having no money, they apply to Swiss banks, which in turn loan them French money.

Recent events more than demonstrated how little national these super-groups are in feeling. When Germany's financial situation was nearing collapse, Stinnes serenely sent his money abroad and let the mark drop at will, perhaps helped to do it. The patriotism of his countrymen he understood only as a means to further his own international interests. To employ this useful

patriotism, it was necessary to have newspapers. So today the Stinnes interests possess a great number of papers.

A similar organization exists in France—the great firm of De Wendel, whose works are situated in Lorraine. De Wendel is French, but his patriotism is of the same character as was Stinnes'. At one time before the war, one of De Wendel's brothers was a deputy in the Reichstag and another a member of the French Parliament.

When Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France in 1919, De Wendel acquired the splendid works and factories which the Germans had built. These works used Lorraine iron ore. This ore was smelted with Ruhr coke. The Peace Treaty left Lorraine on one side of the frontier and the Ruhr on the other. It left the French owners of iron ore without steel manufacturing facilities. The German industrialists, needing Lorraine ore, were in an equally bad position. One was dependent upon the other. Both wished to amalgamate but neither was willing to consider a fair business proposition. Each wanted control. The Ruhr question then became one of control—Stinnes or De Wendel—and the peace of Europe waits while this question is being decided.

The Stinnes group argue that they are better organized for export trade and that their manufacturing facilities are better than De Wendel's. But De Wendel replies: "I have the military hold on you. My soldiers are in your Ruhr and will continue to cripple your industry if you do not accept my control."

This deadlock is further complicated by the fact that English industrialism will not stay neutral. This is understandable when one knows that should De Wendel and the Stinnes groups reach a working agreement the output of steel would be tremendously increased and the prices now enjoyed by the American and English industries would fall. Within six months the Argentine, Chilean, and other markets would be flooded with rails, engines, and machinery of all kinds at prices which would put England and America out of competition.

British magnates feel that this is a real menace. What, then, do they think of the Ruhr question? They reason: "If De Wendel and Stinnes reach an agreement, we are done for"—"fichus," as we say in French. "We must prevent them from reaching an agreement." And so when the French seem to get the upper hand, they support the Germans, and when the Germans seem

to be winning, they back the French. And while this is going on, on both sides of the frontier national hatred develops.

The Germans are being told: "It is abominable. Your mother country is invaded. You must protest." And the Stinnes press does its work to create bad feeling. In France the great press which is also in the hands of the big industrialists, insists that Germany is dodging reparations and demands that Germany be made to pay by force. And so public opinion is worked up on both sides. Neither group is really concerned with reparations; business is their aim.

Business people are not interested in the past; their concern is always with the future. Peoples, on the other hand, do not think of the future, but only of the past, for peoples as a whole have little or no imagination.

After the war the contending peoples thought that the war being over conditions would be the same as those of 1914, and they still think so. Hence the insistence on reparations. But business people are not interested in postwar conditions; they build big empires in imagination—the empire of oil for which English and American groups are contending, the empire of steel which is the real cause of contention between Germany and France.

These are the great basic facts which will dominate tomorrow's history. They are the nucleus of new wars.

Perhaps this paradox may seem too preposterous. You may ask, "Have these great international industrialists no nationality?" and, "How can they lead patriotic, intelligent peoples into war?"

Here we touch the mystery of democracy. The nineteenth century invented democracy. Just what does it mean? In theory it means that each citizen is free, equal in rights to his fellow citizens, and that all public functions are accessible to all. It also means that those in charge of the legislative and executive powers represent the majority of the citizens and that consequently the Government is but the expression of public opinion. But what is public opinion and what makes public opinion? This is a pretty complicated matter. I think, however, that I can safely state that the greatest force contributing to make public opinion is the press. I would like to give particulars about that topic; unfortunately I have not got the time. In brief, the press, or at least a large part of the press, is in the hands of

big industrialism. Well, I am afraid something is wrong with democracy as it now stands.

Let us suppose, for a change, that we are not pacifists and that war may be a means for settling disputes between nations. According to the creed of patriotism, the duty of the citizen is to rise in defense of his country whenever attacked. He defends national business interests as he would defend other important interests of his country. But I have shown that business has become international, finance has become international. Are the peoples going to stand for, kill and get killed for, international business, for international finance? That would be absurd. I say that we live internationally and still think nationally. Nations need one another; when one nation is injured, the other nations suffer from the injury. The present political frame of nations has become too narrow; it has been outgrown by economic conditions. This is why we demand a New International Order, as that, and that alone, will secure permanent peace.

This has been repeated over and over again; it has become a slogan; it sounds like a ready-made treatment, and just as everybody calls oneself a lover of peace, it may be that soon everybody will stand for a New International Order. This is what some of us here have felt, and this is why a few Sections of the League have deemed it necessary to draw up a "Cahier de la Paix," as it were a peace book or booklet, which they are going to present to this Congress. In this booklet they make suggestions and state principles on which the new order should be based.

Economic Aspects of a New International Order*

By Emily G. Balch

A new International Economic Order implies economic evolution in the different countries. It implies the disappearance of discontent and class struggle through a growing realization of social justice in each separate country.

This is going to be a slow and difficult process. It will proceed at different rates in different countries and follow different paths. It is going to be of the utmost importance meanwhile that various peoples should be very tolerant and patient with one another, both as regards experiments and changes, and as regards what may seem backwardness in keeping up with the procession.

* Ordered printed for distribution by vote of the Congress.

When I let my nightmare mood have full force as I try to peer into the future, my fear is of an alignment in a world conflict, at once national and social, in which "Bolshevist" countries will stand arrayed against "capitalist" countries in an Armageddon indeed. Yet one thing that stands out with unmistakable clearness, and that has in it both menace and promise, is the great and growing economic dependence of peoples on one another.

Every economic writer has dwelt on a phase of this interdependence which appeared as soon as commerce began, and which has increased enormously during the era of railroads and steamships. A curious thing about this interdependence, which I never remember to have seen pointed out, is that there goes with it no psychological or emotional counterpart. We drink our tea from China and our coffee from Arabia or Brazil, and dress in wool from Australia, and all the rest of it, without any sense of community of indebtedness, or any sense of personal relation to the coolie who picked the tea leaves or the Australian bushman, if that is the proper name, who took care of his sheep.

There is now coming on a new phase of the development of economic independence, the phase of internationalism in business and finance. This, I think, has three special forms: first, where an enterprise is on such a scale that its markets are international; secondly, where the sources of its supplies are scattered through different countries, as in the case of oil, for example; and third, and most interesting, where ownership is spread through different countries, as in the case, let us say, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which has stockholders everywhere. It is typical that a retired Englishwoman living in her home should be owning stock in Argentina and America and Russia, and nobody knows where else.

We might suppose that this internationalism of business would make for peace. If it does not I believe the reason is not that it is international. I think the trouble lies elsewhere, is somewhat different. What I believe to be the dangerous peculiarity in the situation is the alliance between business in pursuit of profit, and nationalist policies in pursuit of power.

The most extreme case when the danger reaches its maximum is that of businesses, nationally or internationally organized, which deal with sources of war materials or which otherwise profit by war, and which have a direct interest in promoting war scares and in bringing on war.

But if this is the extreme case, there are others which are more dangerous because commoner.

Wherever business and finance look to their governments to help them against competitors in other countries, bad relations between peoples are fostered.

There is also danger in the converse situation where governments look to capitalists for the securing of strategic advantages for national policies, and for giving the flag an opportunity to follow trade. And the relation of this to war is emphasized when the governments with war in mind are looking to private business to stake out access to oil, steel, and other supplies essential to modern fighting.

The economic alliance between governments and business where each hand washes the other, is especially connected in our minds with the policy of the German Imperial Government, which the German people have since repudiated. But it is a policy pursued not alone by Germany. The whole structure of protective tariffs, of preferential arrangements in colonial policies, of government aid in protecting the claims of investors abroad, of backing given by a government to its bankers in foreign countries, of government pressure (visible or invisible) to secure concessions abroad for its nationals—this whole structure prevents any true international order in the world.

One of the most serious and most difficult aspects of this combination of politics and business is international indebtedness, which is too complicated a question to go into here even if I were competent to deal with it. We need, however, only to refer in our minds to such cases as Turkey and Egypt in the past, or the Russian loans, or the vexed question of inter-allied indebtedness, or the forms that the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary are taking, to realize what vast forces are here at work. Amongst all the complexity one point at least stands out clear—a point as to which we took a firm stand at The Hague in 1915, and which we must always emphasize. I refer to the collection of foreign debts by force. That at least should be promptly made impossible.

In general we may say that the Unholy Alliance of the pursuit of profit and the pursuit of power is inevitable as long as governments aim at national aggrandizement and base their power and security on armed force. The only way to a New Economic Order is through a new orientation and a new method on the political side.

An element of great promise meanwhile is the growth of international supervision and administration in economic matters. By international agreement arrived at through the League of Nations or otherwise, the natural flow of goods and travel everywhere should be facilitated on the mechanical and technical side as well as by securing the mildest possible customhouse formalities, the abolition of compulsory passports, etc. At the present time we are like a person with a string tied round his wrists and ankles and neck. The whole circulation is thrown into an unnatural and morbid state. A passport is necessary before a citizen can even leave his own country, and it may be refused if some jack-in-office dislikes the traveler's politics. The United States asks \$10 for its visa on foreign passports, so a United States citizen is charged the same amount abroad, and may pay \$70 for visas for one short journey, as I have done. It all seems very childish and barbaric. There is no reason why people and goods should not go as easily from London to Vladivostock as from New York to San Francisco, and I hope to live to see them do so.

Another line of advance is the growth of international control of international waterways. We must have not only, as now, international control of the Danube and Rhine, but of the main straits and the chief canals, like the Dardanelles, the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal, and so forth; and absolute freedom of navigation of the ocean itself, as demanded in the famous Fourteen Points.

My next point is too difficult for me (and I think not for me only), but it is perfectly obvious that we need nothing more than we need a reform of the currency, a system of finance which will make impossible the enormous difficulties and wrongs that are being inflicted through the currencies as they are today. We need a system which will make currency values stable, and make money operations between peoples and within peoples simple, natural, and just.

There is another question which has been brought up from time to time, and that is the question of the international allotment, or regulated distribution, of scarce raw materials or supplies. At the first meeting of the League of Nations this question was brought up on behalf of Italy, which had suffered peculiarly during the World War because it lacked coal and some other things. As I remember that session, the Canadian representa-

tive said he hoped this matter would not be brought up as the United States would never tolerate it for a moment, and thereupon the question was dropped. I do not think that this question has ever been thought through. You quite frequently hear this plan of allocating scarce raw materials spoken of; we all have been interested in the idea, and we voted in favor of it at our Zürich Congress. But the more I think of it the more I see its difficulties, and the more it seems to me the great need for it would pass if we had permanent peace and complete free trade. I think that under these conditions even scarce materials would allot themselves for the most part in reasonable ways. But certainly we should all favor, I am sure, international control and regulation as far as experience proved it needed or useful.

I am sure we should all like also to see as part of the New International Order some more definite arrangement for international succor in cases of famine, or special need of any kind. You may not know it, but Nansen wanted this done by the League of Nations in connection with the Russian famine, but he could not secure the adoption of his plan.

I am not going to take up more far-reaching plans for the international economic order of the future. If I say they are Utopian this does not mean that Utopian plans are not worth while. It is as important to know where you want to go to, as it is to take the first step on the road. But I think that the first step on the road is often much plainer than the exact character of the place you want to go to, and that you can move in the right direction, even if you are not perfectly certain as to what the city you are going to will look like when you arrive.

I would add the observation that political aims reflect personal aims, and that the root of our difficulties after all is the excessive interest of our age in material possessions, and more especially in possessions as a way to get social prestige and power. This desire on the individual scale reproduces itself on the national scale as a lust for national power and prosperity (which too often gets confused with its pure and noble sister, true love of country). It is with greedy nations as it is with greedy individuals. It is not so much that they want to be well off, though they want that, as that they want to be better off than other people, not only to raise themselves but to pull the other group down. It is the element of jealousy, it is the desire to be superior, that makes the trouble. It is this pursuit of aggrandizement, allied

with the fact that we believe that these things can be acquired by cannon and by cannon alone, that a people can be safe and powerful only by means of powerful armies and navies, that makes the trouble.

We can never get a New International Order while these things remain. It is the alliance of nationalistic politics and profit-seeking business, both based on a belief in war, which is our ruin. Mars is the God of the countries which fear interdependence, and work to become commercially self-sufficing. Mars is the God of passports, and the God of tariffs, and the God of concessions. Mars is the God of steel; Mars is the God of oil.

Happily one mode of progress does not wait upon another. In the interval before another war destroys our civilization (as it will if it comes) there are hopeful developments which can be pushed forward. The growth of cooperation on an international scale is of first-rate importance. So is every gain in public understanding of the situation, and above all every gain in public determination to dissolve the unholy alliance of cannon and capital, and to end economic imperialism in all its forms, and to end it soon.

Economic Aspects of a New International Order

Yella Hertzka, speaking on the economic aspects of a New International Order, denounced the great international financiers of the world as the real power behind the throne in every country. The real, controlling power in international relations today is not political or economic, but financial. International finance is a super-state which dictates international policies in each country, always to serve its own ends. Politicians and statesmen, industrialists and labor, alike are all at the mercy of the powers of international finance. It is an impersonal power, taking no account of the interests of any other group than its own, or of the existence of individuals, states, and nations. She urged a worldwide move for decentralization of organizations which have become so topheavy that they have lost sight of their original aims, and have submerged the interests of the individual. Social welfare organizations and economic bodies tend to expand on such a scale that they build up an impersonal, bureaucratic machine. We must restore the importance of the individual by starting a backfire against non-productive bureaucracies. Decentralization must take place in many fields and in many organ-

izations which have expanded to such a size that they cannot function any longer in the interests of the individual.

The true internationalist is the tradesman—the connecting link between producer and consumer—and cooperation and good will between nations can be stimulated by his activities if he is allowed to function without artificial restrictions. The tradesmen of the world should also be organized into cooperative bodies, but always on a small scale to avoid the dangers of bureaucracy, and such hindrances as permits, rules, and regulations imposed by governments should be removed.

W. Gladys Rinder: I want to support Miss Balch in her suggestion of the need for international control of essential raw materials. One result of the war is the overproduction of heavy iron goods. The peace treaty terms and the whole Ruhr struggle have been largely influenced by this fact. The United States in particular has greatly increased its output of these goods so that today France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States are all competing for markets which are not larger but smaller than before the war.

A special phase of the struggle is seen in the Ruhr, where a combination of circumstances has placed in the hands of the French ironmasters the power to "strangle," as it were, their most dangerous competitors. There is a very significant phrase in the report made by M. Dariac, President of the French Finance Commission, on his return from the visit to the Ruhr and Rhineland. M. Dariac says, "We must retain at all costs our means of action against this producing Germany which has succeeded." (That is, succeeded in organizing itself; we can destroy it or utilize it by controlling it.) Those who are following this struggle closely well know that today a combination of these opposing policies is being carried out, thus adding to the sufferings of the people in that area.

We must control essential raw materials in such a way as to insure not only their fair distribution, but also avoid the overproduction which is such a fertile source of suffering under the present system.

The President introduced the next speaker as a member of the Labor Department of Belgium, what we in the United States would call the Department of Labor, who had been a working woman throughout her life.

Lucie Dejardin: Economic questions must play a great role in

assuring peace in the future as they have played a great role in causing wars in the past.

Belgium has three times rejected a plan for free trade with France, not out of lack of friendship for France but because it does not want to be restricted in its foreign policy. If it were a question of general free trade it would be a different matter.

In Belgium they are constantly saying that eight hours is not enough to enable the country to hold its own in competition and that the workers must work harder, and at the same time they take four months each year from each young man for military service. They have not enough money for the most necessary social work to help the suffering, while they are spending money for further military ventures.

Land and sea, rivers and canals, and the air also, ought to be internationalized, and free exchange of foodstuffs and raw materials established, but there are too many individual and class interests and egotisms in the way.

When men had to be called to arms they were told of the right of self-determination that belongs to the peoples; there was much talk of justice and reform. Workers—hand workers and brain workers—left twenty millions of their dead on the fields of battle. They had their part in the fighting, but the war once ended, they were given no right to a voice in the settlement. As in letting loose the war, so in making the peace, only the interests of the powerful were consulted. They alone wrote and executed the so-called peace treaties.

The great class of workers in all countries represented in the International Federation of Trade Unions have made every effort with their respective governments to have the interests of the manual and intellectual workers also represented in the Commissions created by the League of Nations to study all sorts of practicable policies, both political and economic, and this has had its effect.

The Temporary Commission on Reduction of Armaments of the League of Nations contains besides military experts, economists, financiers, and politicians, also representatives of employers and of the international working class. The latter are Jouhaux (France), Oudegeest (Holland), and Torberg, all three members of the International Labor Office. The members of this Commission were not selected as representing their respective countries, but for their technical competence and social experience.

The League of Nations, under the pressure of developing events and of new ideas, is opening the way to realizations which may result in settling conflicts of all sorts and finding the pacifist road the way to peace.

Women everywhere are exerting themselves to make intensive propaganda to induce every country to adhere, in order that the League of Nations may become a real power for a pacific international order.

Christine Ross Barker: All pacifists have friends who say: "You are beginning at the wrong end; first correct economic evils, and then come and offer reconciliation with thy brother." But when war began in 1914 we saw that the several schools of economics went to pieces, and with pitifully few exceptions, all with one accord began to make excuse for war. The economic doctrines of peace and good will proved as unstable, when the testing came, as the religious doctrines of peace and good will. So we must work in all ways to preserve our peace principles and save our souls.

Nothing is surer than that the people of the world want peace and are naturally friendly. But the governments of the world are constantly building barriers that interfere with this friendship.

One of the greatest of these barriers is the tariff. I know of nothing that makes for discord as much as tariffs. No government should interfere with its citizens bringing home the things they have bought and paid for. If trade were as free between all the countries of the world as it is between the forty-eight United States of America, and between the nine provinces of Canada, one great excuse for war would vanish.

The holding of the earth and its resources for profit instead of for use is another wrong that must be righted before real and permanent peace is possible. The earth and all that it contains belongs of right to all the people as much as the sun and rain belong to all the people. If the workers could get at the natural resources without finding the way blocked by private ownership, it would be impossible for labor to be exploited, and so another great excuse for war would disappear.

There are only three peace monuments in the world: The one between Norway and Sweden, pledging peace between those two countries; the Christ of the Andes, between Argentine and Chile, declaring in the most solemn terms that peace between these countries shall never be broken—"the peace that we have sworn

to maintain at the feet of Christ our Redeemer"; and the Peace Arch between Canada and her only neighbor, the United States of America, celebrating a peace that has lasted for one hundred and ten years, and by the same token, namely, non-armament, shall last forever. This Peace Arch bears the inscription, "Children of a Common Mother."

All peoples are children of a common mother. Why then are we armed to kill one another? All killing is always wrong, whether the killing of individuals by individuals, or the killing of individuals by mobs or governments, or the killing of armies and navies by machine guns, submarines, poison gases, and all such fiendish devices.

Since war does not "break out" like a plague or "come" like an earthquake, but is declared by governments, let us submit as a peace and freedom program that we urge our respective governments to abolish tariffs, to establish free land and free seas, and to show their courage, their faith, and their strength by complete disarmament.

Marguerite Gobat: Taking up the point Miss Balch has spoken of—international emergency work in cases of epidemics, cataclysms, etc., proposed by Dr. Nansen to the League of Nations—I would like to call the attention of the Congress to a plan which we have in Switzerland, to extend the civilian service we are asking for those of our young men whose consciences prevent their doing military service, to the international field. This service would be organized by the League of Nations, to which every government would transfer its conscientious objectors for the formation of an international body which would do the same kind of work that the Society of Friends has done everywhere it was needed, during and since the war.

Vilma Glücklich: One of the first steps, which should be taken as soon as possible, is the introduction of an international uniformity of money, as well as of measures (weights, length, etc.).

The difference between high and low exchange makes the children and young people of the countries whose exchange is low, depend for support on the other countries. They grow up as beggars; and if when they have finished their training they succeed in getting some job, it is not sufficient to support them. This forces them into speculation instead of work.

Young people being of the greatest importance to the world, the question of an international currency must be quickly solved,

in spite of its great difficulties. If it was possible for Austrian and German people to make great sacrifices in order to get their exchange stabilized, it must be worth while for people all over the world to submit to the sacrifices required by the transition to an international currency, in order to save the youth of many countries from being demoralized.

J. Budinska-Tylicka: The economic situation in Poland shows how close is the connection between economic and political conditions. Poland at its resurrection in 1918 found everything to be done. There was no legislative organization, no ministry, no money. By the end of a month parliament was hard at work, but Polish money became subject to terrible foreign speculation and its value fell, so that if you went to the bank to deposit money you had to take a servant to carry it. You did not know from one moment to another what prices would be, and life became simply impossible for manual and brain workers alike.

Up to last January Poland had a government of the Right, very conservative and in alliance with the bankers. Foreign loans were proposed based on twenty years' foreign control of coal, salt, and iron mines, oil wells, railroads, telephones, etc. The financiers of France, Belgium, England, the United States, and Italy wanted to enslave us for almost a generation. There were objections to this policy from the democratic and socialist side, and after the fall of the ministry in December, 1923, a Polish bank of issue was established, a loan was subscribed to within the country itself, and we were saved.

We hope from now on not to rest on foreign bayonets nor on loans, and not to serve as bayonets for either the big or the little Entente, but to be free, independent, and above all peaceful.

Edith A. Waterworth: Australia has 3,000,000 square miles and only five and a half million people. She is rich in every natural resource. Her workers have a high condition of living. How are her resources to be developed and her industries to be built up if she is to compete with countries whose living conditions and wages are low? How is she to increase her population, a thing which is of vital importance to her?

Mary Winsor: We have heard a great deal about the tariff as an important economic cause of war. But while the tariff is one cause of war, it is, to my mind, not the principal cause. The principal cause of war is the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few persons. We should not only speak of this,

we should prepare a program of education for the peoples of our countries on that subject, and we should do so fearlessly. Above all this should be done in the United States where that concentration of power is more terrific than in any other country.

There are practical difficulties in our way. There is a difference of opinion between the group to which I belong, which is the Socialist Party, and the followers of Henry George, as to whether we shall, as the Socialists wish, eliminate competition and set up a cooperative community with all sources of wealth and all industries owned by the people, developed by the work that is in them; or as the Henry George School wishes us to do, concentrate mainly on the land question and natural resources. While we cannot in the International League lay down an absolutely hard and fast program to be followed, I think we must take some middle course that will satisfy the advocates of both those schools; and above all we should be more fearless in pointing out the encroachment of privilege everywhere—the imperialism that is growing up, the tremendous and wicked power that is given to a few people to control the lives of nations.

Dr. Margaret Stegmann, speaking to the question of how to destroy the power of capital, said: This most important and difficult question was studied by Silvio Gesell who started partly from the ideas of Proudhon. Capital could arise and exist because money has been put upon the basis of gold. Gold is not subject to destruction, and cannot diminish its value as all other material things do. That is why gold or money could be held in a few hands. Give us a money which is subject to destruction (it might be put upon the basis of natural wealth of a country or of the world), then its concentration and retention, which is capital, is no longer possible. Details of this complicated matter cannot be given in a short time. Proposal is made to have the question studied for our next Congress by one of our women expert in economic matters.

Dorothy Evans, commenting on the proposal made by Dr. Stegmann that the currency of a country should correspond to the amount of its resources, said that it was not in the line of advance toward stabilization of all national currency, and of a uniform international currency. The resources of a nation are no longer exploited for the benefit of the people of that nation only. We are already on the road to international exploitation of resources, though unfortunately for the profit of the few only. In her

opinion the proposal if carried out would hamper the equitable distribution of the world's resources equally among the peoples, which is our ultimate ideal.

Fanny Garrison Villard: I believe that the all-important question today, paramount to all others, is that of free trade. For lack of it we have the tariff as the principal cause of war. Free trade is a question of human liberty, the right of everybody to buy where he pleases and to sell where he pleases. It works with impartiality. Could we secure it, a League of Nations based on human brotherhood would be formed as a matter of course. Then all economic problems could be more easily solved, and with reference to the world itself.

Agnes Warbasse, speaking on the subject of international co-operative trade, said: Most remedies and methods advocated must use political action and the state as their agencies.

Cooperation looks upon control of the government as too remote, too difficult, too indirect. It seeks to accomplish its results by voluntary action of the people, direct action, now.

Cooperative international trade already exists despite numerous obstacles and governmental difficulties. In 1922 trade amounting to \$150,000,000 was carried on between 14 European countries. If Russia and the eastern European and Baltic States had been included this amount would have been doubled.

This trade is only for service, not for private profit or special privilege—two main causes of international hostility. By working for economic cooperation in our own localities we can today help to bring about economic justice.

Object of the League

Gertrud Baer gave the report of a subcommittee appointed to redraft the Object of the Women's International League, and moved the adoption of the revised text.

The President stated that we had been told from time to time that our Object was much too vague. This was an effort to tighten it up and make it clearer. She thought no absolutely new material had been introduced.

The restatement of the Object was adopted without discussion.*

* For the text see page 144.

Manifesto

Dorothy Evans read the Manifesto which had been drafted by the Executive Committee, to be issued from the Congress as a declaration of the policy of the League; and moved its adoption, with authorization for its issuance to the press, to member societies; and to all our National Sections, as the embodiment of the Resolutions of the Congress and the Board, and as setting forth the work we undertake to further perform during the coming year.

The Manifesto was then adopted without discussion.*

Psychological Aspects of a New International Order

Dr. Anita Augspurg: To realize a New International Order there must be a change of our whole mentality in reference to human life in all its aspects.

Up to now violence has been the agent in all kinds of action and reaction. Our public life, our social life, even our family life, is based on violence or compulsion. A little baby's first consciousness of its surroundings is the experience of compulsion. Commands, obedience, prohibitions, compulsion, even punishment, form the vocabulary of its early years. Even if reasonable parents spare the child such experiences at home, the school will surely supply them. To break the will, to break the character, to mould what the state likes to call a good citizen—that is, a submissive citizen—is the purpose of public education. In the family, too, there is parental compulsion. In many cases the parents dictate the choice of a profession. Girls have to struggle against the unwillingness of their parents to have them enter a profession. The choice of a marriage often involves a tragedy of compulsion. The power of the father and husband over his wife and his children is the tradition of family life. It needs no proof to show that our social life as regards the relations of citizens to state and community, or of working people to their employers, or within our official hierarchy of under-officials to their superiors, is based not on cooperation but on compulsion and submission.

There are many sorts of physical, economic, and moral means of maintaining these conditions. One of the most objectionable forms of such compulsory power is embodied in our judicial system, especially in our criminal justice. "Judge not that ye be

* For the text see page 141.

not judged"—thus teaches one of those eternal sentences of wisdom that have not been understood either by former generations or by our own. It means that to impose punishment is only allowed to him who himself stands guiltless before any judge. Is there any such man? Is there any man so without fault that he may throw a stone at another one and destroy his life or a part of it? But this is done by our judicial sentences. This system of judging and punishing continues only because we accept it with the thoughtlessness with which we do accept that to which we are accustomed; because we deliver over matters in this field unconditionally to the authority of the letter that killeth, and banish from it the living spirit. Certainly society must be protected against the many disturbances which arise from the perversities of our institutions, but not by means of the brute violence of our criminal system. Such protection should express itself in wise guidance, support, healing, or in the worst cases by the exclusion of its morbid members. He who kills a man with intention and deliberately, is said to commit murder. Does not this definition include the judge who pronounces a sentence of capital punishment, or the hangman who executes it? In order to save both from the necessity of killing, we urge that capital punishment cease. In order to prevent the jailer from abusing his authority over his fellow-men, we demand that the terrors and pains of our prisons be replaced by a system worthy of modern civilization.

To replace recourse to violence in our intercourse with neighbor countries—that is, war—by more reasonable measures, is the very center of our efforts. War has been called the "ultima ratio," or ultimate reason, when in fact it is the ultimate unreason; but war as the "spiritus rector," or guiding spirit, invisible but ever present, rules the whole inter-governmental life of our world. It is not true that a state of war between governments is an exceptional state, or that they lay aside the practice of violence in times of so-called peace. In our day peace is nothing but suspension of war, or latent war. War's active organs, armies and armaments, do not disappear in peace time; they stand in expectation, always ready for action. In time of peace other means are employed in their place, for example, secret diplomacy and espionage, both not less effective than the system of brute violence, and equally objectionable.

In a New International Order we must try to counteract the tendencies of mass-psychoses, which may serve as a justification

for war if they conduce to general panic as much as if they conduce to an enthusiasm for aggression. The preventive for such psychoses is the cultivation of individuality. A strong personality relies on its own judgment and is not the prey of every passing suggestion of the crowd. A strong personality refuses to be merged in the uniform average; it follows its own inclination and judges according to its own reason and taste. The uniformity of mankind today—uniformity in dress, housing, and all the customs of life—means a great impoverishment of the world's spiritual values. Submission to the tyranny of changing fashions in especial, not only brings a mental enslavement of the individual but causes society great economic waste. Disproportionately large portions of the income are spent on changing, ephemeral articles which are replaced by new ones long before they are worn out, and an enormous amount of labor is thus wasted. All this serves the profit of a cunning few who know how to force fashion into such lines as may be to their own advantage.

Those who cannot resist a manufacturer of fashions are sure to be easy victims of political influences, and are little likely to be able to initiate valuable criticism with respect to art and mental progress. Therefore there is no doubt that an increase of self-reliant, independent personalities, following their own free judgments, would prove to be a great enrichment of humanity and its different cultures.

The most important factor in the construction of a New International Order is, finally, the bringing into equilibrium of the influence of men and women. The old order was formed according to the ideals of men, which are even now accepted uncritically by the greater number of women. Questions of right are settled by force, by victory, by conquest. Physical heroism and bravery are admired. So convinced a pacifist as Sir George Paish has said, "We men love fighting." That is why men are so slow to imagine that war can ever disappear from the world, why our most advanced statesmen always assume that certain ideals of the future can be realized only by force of arms. Curiously enough they always suppose that such settlements will be final, while they ought to see in the light of the experience of thousands of years, that each violent action produces a violent reaction, and that only treaties freely agreed upon can be the basis of lasting settlements.

It is our task to counteract man's love of fighting by woman's inner devotion to the right. Women must not admire a man with a gun in his hand, but say, "Your gun proves that you do not believe in your right yourself. A just cause is never glorified by fighting; on the contrary it is polluted by every act of violence." Only when we consider those who bear arms and choose military service for their profession as less noble, shall we be able to establish an international order in a new spirit; and only when the constructive spirit of women succeeds in taming the destructive tendencies in men's mentality, can our New International Order be secure.

Andrée Jouve: Social institutions are not an aim in themselves; they are the means through which human beings develop completely and harmoniously. A human being is a complex of creative and destructive forces. Nature is not wholly good. Bad instincts as well as good instincts are both to be found in the child. Social institutions must liberate in man a social being, capable of living with his fellow creatures, and above all liberate the spirit which gives and creates.

Does material, political, and social life as it is organized today serve individual progress? Does it secure the victory of spirit in the world?

Men and women are bound to exhausting and monotonous work, so specialized that one part only of their possible activities is used. They are slaves in the big cities and in the crowded and uncomfortable houses where they live. Their only spiritual compensations are schools for the children, churches and newspapers for the adults. What do these supply? Not a spirit of observation and criticism, not ideas stimulating thought, action, and devotion; but ready-made judgments, conformity to all authority of all sorts, and these imposed slogans kill in the individual all spontaneous common-sense and good-will. Even the struggle for bread which grows harder and harder, brings no stimulus, for it is so dull that war itself appeared to many as a good opportunity for breaking the monotony of habit, or for satisfying their desire for adventure and heroism as well as their desire to serve. Men soon saw, however, that war is slavery also, and the worst slavery of all since it brings up in the soul of man bestiality and cruelty and all the worst primitive instincts. Men saw that our civilization is a thin veneer, that our moral principles are weak, and they found themselves less advanced

in self-control after the war than before. The modern way of living crushes the individual, fails to satisfy his legitimate need for silence, leisure, freedom, and the quietness of nature. Neither adults nor children can develop their spiritual life under such conditions.

How will a New International Order help the improvement of individuals?

In the first place, individual moral improvement depends in great measure on institutions. It is true that great souls everywhere found long ago the eternal truths, but the masses of the people are no nearer to those deep truths than they were 2,000 years ago. Yet humanity has the power to give to every human being without distinction the possibility of a higher psychological life, for a certain measure of dignity in material and social life is the ground on which morality can build. All can and should have food, lodging, some joy in art and nature, work that may be humble but is honored by public opinion, freedom to express oneself and to share in controlling home and foreign policy, freedom to refuse to take part in war. Schools, churches, and the press will also contribute (with the best thinkers and scientists of the coming time, who must be the teachers of the teachers) to create the moral forces without which a new order could not last.

Respect for the child is the basis of education; he is not an instrument for a certain political, social, or even pedagogical result; he must completely and freely develop. No barriers, prejudices, or frontiers must limit him. The whole world is his inheritance. He must have the concrete feeling of the endless continuum of centuries and countries where heroes of art or thought, his masters, arise here and there as do our beautiful cathedrals on the plains. Thus will he penetrate more deeply into the spirit of other peoples and will understand them. It is only deep comprehension that can save us from pharisaism. Comprehending, we do not judge; we have not even to forgive; we simply understand our common misery and common effort toward something better. No limitation in intelligence, no limitation in love—the child owes his service to the whole human community; he must learn to serve those who most need him, because they are most unhappy; he must do by justice all that can be done by justice, for charity too often is a humiliating affirmation of superiority.

· Education will be efficient all life long only if the churches and the press have the same spirit. Individuals and institutions act and react upon each other. We cannot yet foresee the time when man will be perfect enough to do without any institutions. But they must move along with him.

We are already a large international family. I invite you all, whatever your religion, to follow the religion of human friendship; to advance toward human unity; to build in the great world, as Walt Whitman beautifully says, "The Republic of Comrades."

Edith A. Waterworth: At the root of all the causes of war lies faulty human nature. Few men or women are fit for power over their fellows. Government is still exclusively in the hands of men. If women had taken part in it from the beginning the results today would have been very different. The mentality of women would have developed, and they would then have inevitably striven against war, for the awakened woman knows that her part in life is the defense of the young of the race. We should strive, therefore, to have women become active in every phase of public life. Women writers and women speakers may do a great deal by dropping the seed of thought into women's minds, and making the fact that they are the natural defenders of the young, a permanent and active thought. The proper teaching of children on the subject of war and peace would build a new national view, surely and steadfastly. But a still greater force to end war might be set free by the appeal to the mother instinct in women. This is a bond which binds all the women of the world together.

Anna Pallin, who was to have represented Sweden as a delegate, but who was prevented from reaching the Congress, had sent the following telegram, which was read to the Congress: Propose that we should work out definitely new and uniform values in history for the schools of the world in regard to wars, encouraging glorification of cultural development, and trying to stop glorification of wars and conquests through new moral and ethical standards.

J. Budinska-Tylicka: Up to the present the important subject of the psychology of war has not been adequately studied. No doubt personal and collective egoism is one of the chief elements. We need to emphasize the psychological aspect of the New International Order.

There has been progress since the war.

1. Empires and monarchies have largely given place to democratic forms of government.

2. There has been a great increase of democratic ideas, not only among industrial workers but among whole populations which had been deeply ignorant before.

3. There is much more cooperation between manual and intellectual workers, and labor has triumphed—has come to the front.

4. Women have been given civil and political rights, and this enfranchisement brings much nearer our wished-for peace and reorganization of the world. For, first, women are more numerous than men. In the second place, morally they are more humane, juster, and more sensitive. In the third place, the mothers of humanity better appreciate the value of the individual life. They are against barbarism, against the predominance in life of brute force.

The future belongs to women, but they must be aroused from their apathy, and must learn to understand their responsibility toward the future of mankind. It is for them to make moral force the ruling force in the world.

Clare Annesley: In studying the psychological aspect of a New World Order we are struck by the fact that in all lands, throughout all ages, the most spiritual thinkers and workers have based their teaching and actions on an accompanying faith in this world order, in the unity and sanctity of all life—as Lao-tsze in China, Buddha in India, Christ in Palestine. As Tolstoy wrote: "There is one truth in each religion and that is the same in every religion, Love thy neighbor as thyself." This philosophy of life declares what blesses one blesses all.

Opposed to this, however, is the belief that man is nothing more than an animal of prey, and that it is possible for one group of the human family to benefit by the exploitation and degradation of another group. But even physical evolution seems to contradict this, for man in common with the most intelligent of the animals is quite defenseless, and the monkey who resembles him closest in physical structure is actually a vegetarian.

The moral history of the world has shown repeatedly that while the moral integrity of the oppressed and persecuted may remain intact through what we call soul force or non-resistance, the persecutor, though he may gain the whole world, loses the only thing that matters—his own soul, his own self-respect. Generally to win a war is a greater disaster than to lose it.

In the word "war" I include all struggle for domination and superiority, even as peace must imply cooperation and equality, both internationally and nationally. The aim of evolution is surely to replace animal claws and fangs by thought, to replace subconscious instinct and desire by conscious spiritual striving and intelligence. All limitation of our love is a limitation of our intelligence; and to shut out from our love any individual, or group of individuals, whether it be of class, country, or race, is to cripple our whole intelligence, our whole spiritual development. To respond to anger and cruelty with love and forgiveness is one of the greatest achievements of which we are capable.

It was one of the great army of young men in England suffering imprisonment for refusal on conscientious grounds to participate in war, who wrote from the guard room of a military barracks these words: "I have become filled with an ever-widening sense that all the material force the world contains is powerless against the spirit of indomitable love."

One clear proof of the inborn nobility of mankind is the fact that in order to get people to do a disgraceful thing you have got to disguise it as something heroic. To make an appeal today war must be depicted, not as murder and destruction, but as bravery, as service, as the protection of the weak by the strong. Dearer to men than life itself seems to be the emotional call of a great ideal.

In time mankind will come to see that the greatest bravery and service we can express, the only real way we can protect our country, is by the attempt to put into practice the teaching of what is called the Sermon on the Mount with regard to our national and international problems. If all the bravery and heroism which each government appeals to and prides itself on during war-time, were concentrated on the effort to abolish the manifold causes of war, a New Order would be established, based not on ignorance, distrust, and fear, but on knowledge and cooperation. We have seen that from the moral and religious standpoints, and from the standpoint of mortal evolution, the highest law of life appears to be the Law of Love; and because the humblest among us may in selfless love be a channel, a mouthpiece for this changeless eternal truth, all belief in inequality is treachery to the progress of mankind.

This spirit of truth will inspire the New Order we are working for; and the fruit of this spirit is love, peace—as in the Kingdom of Heaven within us; so also in the world around us.

Eva M. Macnaghten: I want to speak about the reactions of the older generations to the youth movement, and I am not in these few words confining myself to the subject considered only from the Women's International League point of view.

When my soul talks to me about life it always talks in parables and metaphors, and sometimes we get rather tied up in the business. I hope you won't.

Twenty years ago at the time when I began to think I ought to feel aged—I was then forty—I heard this piece of advice given on the right attitude of the passing to the incoming generation: "Hand on the torch generously." The speaker continued, "I know what you want to say, and I feel sometimes that way myself. If they want to hold the torch a little to the right, 'No, not quite like that, a little to the left; we did not hold it like that'." Now, don't say those things and don't think them. Hand on the torch generously.

Is our work then done when we have parted with the torch? No; emphatically no. It is changing in character. It is changing from these shrewd activities of youth, these glorious activities of youth of which the poet Edward Brown speaks. We of the older generation may, nay, we must, now become power houses for generating the currents of faith and power that applied to the strong cable of youth will flash the truth for which the passing and coming generations both stand everywhere.

And remember that in the Women's International League we are believers in free trade and the exchange of our respective services, and these functions can take place as often as seems wise. I would suggest we leave it to the youth movement to tell us when they want us. The thrill and excitement of being linked up with the youth movement in their great adventure is an immense privilege. Our feet indeed are tangled in the meshes of time, but our souls are in the future. So my urge is that you think the unthinkable thought, the unutterable word today; do the impossible deed and work the impossible way.

Marguerite Gobat: There has been a great deal said in these last days about radicalism and radicals. But no one has pointed out the real meaning of the word "radical," which comes from a latin word which means "root." To be radical is to go to the root of the questions you are dealing with.

Now are we going to the root of our work if we are willing to permit violence of any kind in any domain? I should like to

emphasize this especially on two points. As to war between nations I think we are all very clear. However, are we clear as to the matter of excluding violence from education? which is my first point. Are we aware of the fact that the first blow—even lightly given—to a little child may make out of him a revolter who will strike back at his opportunity? Are we clear also about the point that if we do not work with all our strength to build our social system on a basis of righteousness, cooperation, and equal chance for all, we are responsible not only for the moral and material misery of the mass of the people, but also for the death of thousands of workers through the bad conditions under which they work and exist; and that with such responsibility we cannot pretend to stand against violence in the internal policy of countries, and try to prevent civil war or bloody revolution?

We must be radical. We cannot be too radical.

Lili Dank-Werner: If we think about the New Order to come for which we are working, we know that education is one of the most important ways of arriving at it, for we must change people's minds to get all the things we want. Well, it is a beautiful thing to mention something of this kind that has already been done by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and which has been extremely efficient. I refer to our summer schools.

Summer schools are held nearly everywhere in the world now, but especially in Europe. The summer schools of the Women's International League mean something quite special, not only from the standpoint of the lectures but for the discussions which are held there, and because they aid in changing people's minds. It is not my meaning that the good comes only from what these people say among themselves, but from what is said everywhere after the summer schools have closed.

I just want to quote what an officer of the British Royal Navy, who never in his life before had known anything about pacifism and internationalism, and had never considered these problems at all—I want just to tell what he had to say about one of our summer schools. I have the letter which he wrote me, in which he says: "This very happy fortnight at the Lugano Summer School of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has done more to abolish the national prejudice with which we were born and brought up than anything else in our

lives, and for this we cannot be grateful enough." I do not know if this man would go to fight if there be any more war. Perhaps he would because it would be rather difficult to lose his job. But I am sure if there were any general movement of this kind among officers and among his countrymen he would be one of the first not to go to war. Yet before the summer school which was held at Lugano he knew absolutely nothing about pacifism.

That is only one example to show what I mean. The horizon, the outlook of people, is enlarged by these schools; and the hatred, the misunderstandings that betray us, are aided to vanish.

I remember the splendid work our English Section has done in the way of appropriations for two summer schools in 1922. In one of these summer schools thirty-five per cent of the people attending were English, and most of those who attended had never before been pacifists. They had splendid results. I sincerely hope that we will do whatever we can to go on with this work as it really has meant a great deal of education among all the European peoples.

Gertrud Baer pointed out the necessity for having women enter the diplomatic service, in order to influence and change the spirit of international relations and represent the true psyche of peoples.

Hannah Clothier Hull, in connection with Miss Macnaghten's appeal for sympathy with the point of view of youth, told of a meeting she had attended at a university, held as a reception to student visitors from foreign countries, where she was deeply stirred by the fact that in the letters which were read and in the speeches the Women's International League was included as if it were a part of the Youth Movement of Europe.

Lilian Holby: We young people are anxious to work. What can be done?

We must make enormous propaganda all over the world. We must awaken women to their responsibilities, and to the influence they can have in creating the New Psychological Order of the world. It has been suggested that we should get women into diplomacy; that we should do this and do that. The only way you can do this is to go to the people, and arouse public opinion all over the world.

Presentation of the Cahiers of Peace

The President explained that the word "Cahier" meant more or less a statement of principles. The Cahier Commission had been appointed at a meeting of the International Executive Committee in Dresden in 1922. It had invited all the National Sections to submit suggestions for a peace plan for the Women's International League. The Commission had met in Paris in April of this year, and had drawn up a Cahier based on the suggestions received. This would be presented for the Commission by Mme. Duchêne. Since the meeting in Paris the British Section had sent in the result of a conference on treaty revision as a contribution, and Cahiers had also been received from Hungary and Australia. At the International Executive Committee meeting held at Swarthmore, Pa., just before the Congress, it was decided that it was too soon to put the Cahiers before the Congress for ratification since the Sections had not had time to consider them, so the material was now to be presented to the Congress merely for discussion, and it would then be sent to the various Sections for their amendments, or approval, or disapproval, or whatever they pleased—to be returned again to the Cahier Commission.

The Commission Cahier, called in the Congress the French Cahier, was put before the Congress in mimeograph form, and the British Cahier in print.

Gabrielle Duchêne, in presenting the French Cahier,* said: Professor Ruyssen from France, at the Conference held at The Hague in December, 1922, hinted that women, who were experts in doing critical work, were unable to do any kind of constructive work. Then some of us decided to draft a sort of constructive plan for world organization. As a suggestion for future work this was submitted to some delegates to The Hague Conference and met with approval. The French delegates started a big campaign in France in favor of "Cahiers de la Paix." What is the real aim of that movement? What does "Cahiers de la Paix" mean? That is what I am now going to try and explain.

We are strongly convinced that limited reforms are not sufficient. We believe that it is practically impossible to obtain lasting and useful reforms without a change of system, and, I must add, a change of the individuals. How obtain, for instance,

* For the text see page 163.



GABRIELLE DUCHÊNE, Vice President
France

the introduction of a new spirit in public education, how obtain free trade, how obtain real democratic control, etc., so long as individuals have not changed their minds? How long will governments be under the domination of trusts, of capitalistic interests? Not only nations and individuals but also institutions are acting in such close interdependence that partial reforms cannot be efficient; the whole system has to be reformed.

Many think that if at the end of the war peoples had been consulted and had taken part in the preparation of the treaties, everything would have been entirely different. We believe that this is an illusion. Peoples were not prepared. Peoples only partly knew what they wished, and what they did not wish. Peoples, or the largest part of the peoples, had not yet exactly formulated what they wanted, and above all by what means the desired reforms could be achieved. And this is just what is important.

Before 1789, in France, when the want for a new national order was felt, many groups belonging to the gentry, the bourgeoisie, and clergy, expressed their claims and wishes in memoranda which we called "Cahiers." (Literally "cahier" means copy-book, leaflet.) These Cahiers, which amounted to more than fifty thousand, were presented to the Etats Généraux, that is to say, to the big Parliament that had not been called by the king for almost two centuries. Out of the French Revolution Cahiers arose a new national order.

What we now want are World Peace Cahiers to prepare the New International Order. We ask not only every national or international organization, but any one, association or individuals, interested from an international point of view in one special question, to write a Cahier, that is to say, make suggestions as to how that especial point should be handled in the New International Order. We do not limit ourselves to pacifist organizations, but we apply to all groups of producers or consumers, trade unions and cooperatives, scientific, artistic, feminist, ethical, and religious organizations as well as to all political parties. We ask them to prepare a Cahier upon the question in which they are especially interested. We ask them to state:

1. Their criticism on the existent international order.
2. Their wishes and practical proposals for a New International Order.

The Cahiers are to be sent to the Union of International Associations in Brussels, where they are to be read methodically

and sorted out. When this work is finished a World Congress will be summoned and its object will be to formulate a Declaration of International Rights and Duties, and to create institutions making possible the application of the principles stated in the Declaration. To this purpose the Congress will have to discuss possibilities of realizing the wishes expressed and the means of putting into practice the proposed solutions; and also to find the best means of bringing pressure upon existing Governments to obtain the necessary reforms to bring about the New International Order wanted by the peoples.

A first printed circular was sent to every National Section of the Women's International League, asking them to give publicity to the movement in favor of the Cahiers in their own countries, inside as well as outside of the League.

Here I must point out that we do not mean, as believed in some Sections, to ask a great many organizations to work together to write a single Cahier; but on the contrary our aim is to secure as many Cahiers as possible, coming from groups as different as possible. In France we constituted a sort of propaganda committee whose members belong to several organizations, different in character—the French Section of the Women's International League, Christian Pacifists, Socialist Pacifists, technicians, etc. Several organizations have now begun to prepare their own Cahiers.

When we met at Dresden last year I made a report to the Executive Committee about the action undertaken, and then it was decided to form a Cahier Commission. Dr. Augspurg, Miss Marshall, Mme. Jouve, and myself were appointed to do the work, and authorized to co-opt new members if wanted. It was decided too that every Section should be invited to make propaganda in its own country, and try to obtain as many Cahiers as possible. We were then asked to write a new circular, giving some practical explanations as to how the Cahier should be composed. This was the third circular which was sent to every Section. I must add that every circular was published in the Bulletin. It was further decided that a Cahier of the League should be written. For this purpose a letter was sent to every Section asking them to send their suggestions for this Cahier. The French Section was asked to collect the material and write a draft of the Cahier for approval by the Congress. We received most enthusiastic letters from many Sections. In Czecho-

Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary many groups and distinguished persons seemed to take great interest in the idea of the Cahier. But months passed before we received any total or partial Cahier.

We met again in London last February, and again asked the British Section to cooperate. They were unable to do so, and finally the French Section did the work alone. It was really a heavy responsibility. We tried to do the work as impersonally and objectively as possible. Should the French Section have done a Cahier of its own, it would certainly have been more radical. I must also mention that suggestions were sent by the Austrian and Swedish Sections. Out of these and previous propositions and resolutions adopted by the League, we tried to formulate the Doctrine of the League.

This Cahier was written by the French Section, and submitted in Paris by the Cahier Commission to the informal meeting of delegates held from the 6th to the 9th of last April. Some modifications and additions were asked and accepted. Mme. Meller, from the Hungarian Section, then presented an exceedingly interesting Cahier written in cooperation with several highly qualified and prominent persons. This Cahier was received too late to be incorporated into the League Cahier, but, as might have been foreseen, it contained no principle clashing with those of our Cahier. This important work was most appreciated, and will be sent by the Cahier Commission to Brussels, in view of the World Congress. We also received a few days ago from Australia a very interesting Cahier which the Cahier Commission will study carefully. We hope we shall receive further contributions.

Our Cahier was lastly presented to the Executive Committee and others meeting at Swarthmore, and there was approved by delegates present from the following Sections: Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Ukraine, and by delegates from both groups in Austria and in Czecho-Slovakia.

It has been distributed today to all persons present, and I hope you have had time to read it. However, allow me to sum up the principles it contains. 1. Nations have equal rights. 2. Nations are interdependent. In consequence as long as nations are not united in a single federation they will have the duty, and it will be to their interest, to help each other. As regards the Political International Order the Cahier asks for the creation of an effective International Power, including an Economic

Power which will insure positive and active cooperation between the peoples.

As regards the Economic International Order the Cahier asks for the liquidation of past debts, the revision of Treaties, etc., on the basis of justice and common interest. It asks for the abolition of customs barriers, the internationalization of transports and ways of communications; a just distribution and better use of the natural wealth of the world, exploited not for the profit but for the greatest benefit of humanity; a new international Labor Charter based on the entire equality of social, political, and economic rights without distinction of nationality, races, or sex.

As regards Individual Life it asks for reforms as suggested relative to hygiene. Also for a Child Charter based on the principle that the human community has imprescriptible duties toward the physical and moral welfare of the child.

As reforms can only be made lasting provided individuals themselves change, a special part of the Cahier has been devoted to education.

At the last Executive Committee it was decided to forward the Cahier to Brussels, in view of the World Congress. The Cahier will also be sent to the National Sections of the W. I. L. for study and discussion. All Sections which agree with this Cahier may inform the Cahier Commission in Geneva. Sections wishing to raise objections or to make suggestions may also send them. We request all those interested in the movement who can, and all National Sections, to use every possible means for propaganda to spread the movement throughout the whole world. We are convinced that such a large inquiry can give rise to new doctrines and practical proposals which will help the New International Order to be brought about.

In this Cahier we have established a doctrine to show just the right direction to be taken. And now the time has come for us to decide which step we want to take first. Suggestions to that effect have been made; very interesting papers have been submitted by Mrs. Lloyd and by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, written in the very spirit of our Cahier. This kind of thing is just what we want. We want practical suggestions from technicians, experts of all kinds from all countries, centers, etc., expressing the opinion of all those competent in their particular lines.

Eva M. Macnaghten, in presenting the British Cahier, pointed out that it was prepared "For the Use of Study Circles."

For hours the representatives of many societies, including the Union of Democratic Control, the Women's Cooperative Guilds, the Labour Party, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Friends' Peace Society, etc., have worked to set forth proposals for amending the Covenant of the League of Nations, believing that the League of Nations realized in fact, as it would be if its principles were carried out, would be a valuable instrument for peace.

The Congress voted that this Cahier should also be circulated to the National Sections.

Eugenie M. Meller said in regard to the Hungarian Cahier that after the Dresden meeting of the Executive Committee the Hungarian Section took up the Cahier work with great interest and much zeal. It had held many meetings for discussion of the subject, and together with the Hungarian Peace Society, whose president, Monsignore Giesswein, took up the work very eagerly, they had asked many eminent experts to write on their special subjects, each one part of the Cahier.

The content of the Cahier was quite on the line of the French Cahier, and therefore they did not aspire to have the Hungarian Cahier discussed separately; they did not wish to take up the time of the Congress. But if, as they hoped, the French Cahier should be accepted, the Hungarian Cahier would be accepted with it.

Edith A. Waterworth stated that the Australian Cahier had been presented to the Cahier Commission.

Dorothy Evans, speaking to the Labor Section of the French Cahier, said that she feared that the consumer would not receive enough protection if, as was recommended in the Cahier, "the sources of labor (soil and subsoil, and the instruments of industry and commerce) shall be owned directly by those who work them."

She was a clerical worker, and as such would have no control over the railroads. But she was interested in the railways, being a season ticket holder, and was constantly exploited by them. No doubt control by the railway workers would be an improvement on the present system, but she feared that if this was not balanced by some control from the consumer, she would still be exploited.

Nearly all the Trades Unions in England were dominated by men, and it was exceedingly difficult for women to get inside them and secure equal opportunities. We sympathized with their fear of black-leg competition, but were opposed to their

method of getting rid of it, which was to exclude women from certain trades altogether. She spoke of the terrible plight of the women who had been employed in the typesetting shops of Edinburgh when the Printers' Union had them all turned out. She cited also the case of the Lancashire Pit-Brow lasses. The men's Trades Unions had for generations held all the political power and even now formed the great proportion of the voters, being able to out-vote the women very heavily. They used this power to secure legislation which had an apparent protective intention, but was really an unfair weighting of the scales against their female competitors. Admission to all trades on equal terms was the only solution of the question of undercutting. Although it was out of order to refer to the fight of the American women on this subject,* we were intensely interested in it.

Jeannette Rankin asked that her time be given to Mary Anderson, Chief of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor of the United States. By vote of the Congress Miss Anderson was given the floor.

Mary Anderson: The subject under discussion seems to me to be a principle which we are all agreed upon—equality for men and women. The method of establishing this principle is a question which should be left to each country, and to the working people in each country. I know that we have differences of opinion in the United States as well as in other countries. This came out at the International Congress of Working Women which met in Vienna in August, 1923. At that Congress it was decided to leave the methods of securing equality for men and women in industry to the working people of each country. It does not seem that the question of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States or of any other nation is one to be decided by an international group.

Gabrielle Duchêne, asking to be allowed to explain a misunderstanding, said that while in the Cahier they stood for complete and absolute equality for men and women workers, the method to be pursued in the different countries was not intended to be covered in the Cahier; that each country should find a method by which it could best and most completely recognize this principle.

* Referring to an effort on the part of some of the American delegates to obtain the endorsement of the Congress for an equal rights amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which effort the President had ruled out of order.

The report of the Cahier Commission was received as a report of progress, and the Commission was reappointed with three new members.*

The President stated during the discussion of the Cahiers that there was present in the hall one of the early members of the Women's Peace group in the United States. She had not been able to attend the meetings very often, but she was now with us and we would like to pay her our respects—Mrs. William Jennings Bryan. Mrs. Bryan was ill and could not come to the platform, but the President hoped all would have the pleasure of seeing her.

Brief Memorials to Revered Advocates of Peace

Lucia Ames Mead: Immanuel Kant of Königsberg, born in 1724 in East Prussia under an autocratic and militaristic régime, laid the foundation for a true International Order. His writings on law and justice are the basis of the best legal practice today. A great scientist, as well as the greatest philosopher since Plato, he also studied politics and the true theory of the state.

Despite his environment, he had the courage to espouse republican principles and to show that the peace of the world depended on the action of nations governed not by autocrats but by the representatives of the people. Woodrow Wilson's work for a League of Nations was based on Kantian principles.

Kant's "Natural Principles of the Political Order," written in 1784, and his "Eternal Peace," written in 1795, follow the less well-known work of William Penn and the monumental work of Grotius, and still have modern value and deserve profound study. Kant followed eagerly the work of Washington, Franklin and Jefferson in their efforts to establish a nation built on a new plan, with free trade between all states and with earnest effort to minimize war preparations and to end "the plague" of war, as Washington called it.

Kant was the teacher of the jurists, professors, and legislators of modern times. Millions who have never read a word that he wrote are profoundly affected by his thought. His services for peace should be everywhere celebrated in his bicentenary year.

Marguerite Gobat: Twenty years ago when I first came to America, it was also for a peace purpose. Then I accompanied

* See Committees appointed by the Congress on page 156.

my father, Dr. Albert Gobat, member of the Swiss Parliament and head of the Department of Public Instruction of the canton of Berne. He came to take part in the Interparliamentary Conference at St. Louis, September, 1904, which he had organized, being the secretary as well as the founder of the Interparliamentary Union for promoting International Arbitration.

This Conference at St. Louis, which was the twelfth Conference of the Union, passed a resolution requesting the government of the United States to convene a second assembly of the states of the world in order to continue the work of the first Conference of The Hague in 1899, and to constitute what could have become the foundation of the League of Nations, that is, an international Congress meeting periodically for dealing with international questions. This resolution was presented to President Roosevelt by Albert Gobat himself.

Two years before, in 1902, Dr. Gobat had obtained the Nobel Peace prize. This distinction was bestowed twice upon him, for ten years later, in 1912, the Nobel Peace prize was granted to the International Peace Bureau in Berne which he had reorganized and was heading.

In 1914 Albert Gobat died suddenly as he was going to address his co-workers at a meeting of the international board of the Berne Bureau, in full strength; so, like his friend and co-worker Bertha von Suttner, he was spared witnessing the overthrow of the efforts and hopes of his whole life.

After his death I found on his desk some sheets with the heading, "Chaque jour une pensée pour l'Alsace-Lorraine" (every day a thought for Alsace-Lorraine). He thought that world peace could be achieved through the reconciliation of France and Germany by the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine, that is, by the granting of autonomy to the territories conquered by the war of 1870; and he convened on this topic, in 1913, a conference which brought to Berne prominent pacifists and politicians from France and Germany, among others Jaurès and Bebel. And he had written a book upon it, "Le Cauchemar de l'Europe" (The Incubus of Europe).

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann: When Monsignore Giesswein of Hungary first went into Parliament fifteen years ago he at once spoke for peace and woman suffrage, long before the war. He was a member of the Interparliamentary group, and worked with

Bertha von Suttner and Fried. The peace question made a feminist of him. He was President of the Hungarian Peace Society, and worked for making the League of Nations some day a real League of Nations. He was president of the Esperanto Society, and was a splendid linguist, being a scientific man before he entered Parliamentary life. He worked also in the Roman Catholic peace organization, and with the Women's International League, and was present at all peace congresses which we can remember. He contributed to the *Cahier*, and a letter he sent out in cooperation with the League is now being circulated with the *Cahier*.

Monsignore Giesswein was often misinterpreted and ridiculed, standing as he did for absolute equality of the sexes, races, and creeds, and always for justice. In his will he asked that a copy of the Christ of the Andes should be put on his grave, and the Hungarians are now trying to raise the money to fulfil this last wish. He died suddenly about October of last year, in the middle of his work, and yet fully prepared to die.

Rosika Schwimmer: The death of Baroness Bertha von Suttner ten years ago, a week before the murder in Sarajevo, crushed us with grief over the loss of our leader. But when five weeks after her death the World War broke out we were grateful for the fate which saved her from utter disillusionment in mankind.

Among the greatest inspirations which I have gained from the outside was my association with Baroness von Suttner. Family connections brought me in contact with her when I was hardly more than a child, and up to her death I met her not only socially but more and more in the work for pacifism.

Bertha von Suttner, the beautiful young countess related to royal families, was endowed with a keen sense of rebellion against all human injustice. Her sacred indignation against any kind of injustice or oppression was like a burning flame. She knew no compromise for the sake of her private interests. Pacifism had had for centuries its theorists, but Bertha von Suttner was the first great leader who tried to convert pacifist science and thought into action for world safety. Great success was hers. She inspired kings and statesmen. She enthused the multitude. A wonderfully happy marriage added to the richness of her life. But behind all that success and happiness a deep tragedy was hidden—the tragedy of poverty. Bertha von Suttner and her husband were victims of their poverty. They were the

owners of a big feudal estate, but had no other secure income. The Suttner estate was entailed, and could therefore neither be sold nor mortgaged, and its income was not sufficient to cover the expenses of the extended journeys necessary for their peace propaganda. They could not devote themselves with carefree abandon to the service of world peace to which they had consecrated their lives. Baron Gundaccar von Suttner died at the age of 50, literally of poverty, because their income and the earnings of their literary work did not permit them to spend a full year in a southern climate. Such a year would have saved his life, the physicians asserted.

Baroness von Suttner often spoke of the wretched question of finances for the pacifist movement, and when she came to the United States for a lecture tour, and Carnegie offered her a yearly allowance, she greatly rejoiced in the gift because this addition to her own income would enable her to devote herself to the preparation of the International Pacifist Congress which was to have been held in Vienna in September, 1914.

Clara Tybjerg: Schleswig that had been a part of Denmark but had been severed from it by the result of the war of 1864, had had the promise of being restored to Denmark through a referendum; but the promise was never kept, and for fifty years the population had been struggling to preserve their language and culture. The prophetic words of President Wilson when he advanced the Fourteen Points which were sent broadcast across the ocean, brought to a world hungering and thirsting after righteousness the promise of a new day.

On the day when he sailed for Europe the Danish Section of the Women's International League held a mass meeting to hail the new era, and the greetings that were sent to President Wilson from this meeting representing all classes of the people was no conventional thing, but a true expression of high anticipation and cordial response.

Through the realization of one of his Fourteen Points, the self-determination of peoples, the Danish claim was reconsidered, and Schleswig "voted itself home." It was achieved by vote, not by sword.

We realize with grateful hearts that this was due, not only to the faithfulness of its men and women, but in the first place to the vision and wisdom of this great man—a prophet who shared the lot of prophets, not to be quite understood by his own country

nor by his own time, but who kept his heart burning for a great idea. It is by his Fourteen Points, by his struggle for righteousness, by his passionate love for humanity, that history will remember President Wilson.

Dr. Naima Sahlbom: Frederika Bremer was a Swedish novelist and pioneer in the middle of the last century. In 1854, during the Crimean War, she sent out a message to the women of the world urging them to form an international peace alliance. This was published in the English world paper, the Times, but was followed by a critical commentary by the editor, who feared to lose his reputation on account of this foolish fancy.

The Swedish Section wishes to revive this early prophecy of a women's peace league by reprinting an extract of Frederika Bremer's "Invitation to a Peace Alliance," as an appreciation to the American women and the leaders of this Congress.

Virginia Piatti-Tango: Count Guglielmo Lucidi, Italian, and one of the most active workers for world peace, died at Rome in March, 1924, at the age of thirty-seven. He was a follower of Tolstoy, and later founded the Clarté group in Italy. He had all the ardor and the idealistic faith of a believer, but his faith was based on profound study. Like our League, he gave everything and asked for nothing. He sacrificed treasures of intelligence and effort and all his financial resources to establish a publishing house, the "Casa Editrice Internazionale," which brought out his very valuable review, *Rassegna Internazionale*.

Lucidi died poor, but in time to come the work of this man, who stood single-handed against the world, facing all the tragic problems of human life without compromise in his demand for truth and justice and the defense of the weak, will stand out as a miracle of self-sacrifice and of moral force.

The President: May I say just a word about Mme. Olga Bessarab, one of our members who died in prison a few months ago in the city of Lemberg. She was a member of our Ukrainian Section, and believed by her colleagues to be an ardent pacifist. She died a tragic death before her time. Even today we do not know the exact truth of the web of circumstances in which she was caught, and we will perhaps never know, but we are sure that she suffered much, enmeshed as were many other unhappy women in the terrible coils of war and intrigue. May I add her name to the roll of the others who have just been eulogized for their devotion to principle and their spirit of martyrdom?

Constitution *

Certain amendments to the Constitution had been recommended by the Executive Committee. The full Constitution with these amendments embodied was circulated to the delegates. The restatement of the Object of the League, already passed by the Congress,† was embodied in the new form.

The proportion of the Executive Committee which should constitute a quorum was defined as "one more than half of the Executive members." This was voted upon and carried.

The Committee proposed that "each national delegation may nominate nine members for the Executive Committee," instead of three, as previously. This was voted upon and carried.

J. Budinska-Tylicka proposed that the right of Consultative members to speak at Executive meetings should be specifically mentioned. This was voted upon and carried.

Rosika Schwimmer proposed that at one Executive meeting "to be specially called each year," the Consultative members should "have the same rights as members of the Executive Committee." This was voted upon and carried.

A proposal from the British Section which had been recommended by the Executive Committee, for empowering the Executive Committee "to invite the cooperation of any member of a National Section having special knowledge or aptitude for any piece of work which the Executive Committee is undertaking," was voted upon and carried.

Anna M. Graves was voted especial leave to propose that a World Section should be formed when there were more than one hundred individuals living in at least five different countries, agreeing with the Object of the League, and without being members of any National Section, if they wished to apply for admission. Only one such Section could be admitted. This was voted upon and carried.

Congress Report

It was proposed that three versions of the Report be printed, in English, French, and German respectively, instead of one version in three languages, as had been the practice hitherto. This was voted upon and carried.

* For the full text of the amended Constitution see page 145.

† See page 144.

The Executive Committee was instructed to find an editor for the English version in America, the other versions to be based upon the English version. On the outside of all three versions it should be stated that the Report is also printed in the other languages, and where it may be procured.

Resolutions *

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented the report of the committee, which was circulated to the delegates in mimeograph form in French and English.

Milena Illová introduced a resolution on compulsory arbitration saying that the "optional protocol" of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which provides that the International Court is not only accepted as a possible court to which a country may resort in cases of dispute with other countries, but is accepted as an obligatory resort, had been signed by relatively few countries, and those mostly where there is still fear of war. We must work to have all countries sign it.

The resolution was voted upon and carried.

Jeannette Rankin moved a resolution calling for an international conference for the outlawry of war. The resolution was voted upon and carried.

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams moved a resolution expressing the satisfaction of the Congress with the proposal of the President of the United States in regard to the calling of an international conference to deal with the limitation of armament. The resolution was voted upon and carried.

Emily G. Balch moved a resolution in regard to Chemical Warfare, saying: It seems to me that we should not neglect the special weapon against war that the chemical warfare gives to us. Its horrors and dangers are so peculiar and special that it offers a means of getting at the consciences of people who have hitherto been unmoved. Right-meaning people could be helped to understand what it means to be spending their tax money to develop this mad and cruel science of destruction. It seems to me that if our capitalists thought of the possible dangers of these powerful poisons they would put an end to their development, instead of promoting it. I think in view of the bitter unrest present in the

* For the full final text of the Resolutions passed see page 137.

world, both on economic and social grounds, that to go on inventing more tools of the devil for those to use who happen to get control of them, is a folly that should be recognized as such and finally abandoned.

The French, Dutch, and Belgian Sections had also sent in proposals on this subject, with the recommendation that Dr. Gertrud Woker, Dr. Naima Sahlbom and Ester A. Beskow be asked to form an international committee for the study of the subject. With this addendum the resolution was voted upon and carried.

Emily G. Balch moved a resolution on an international goodwill day, which after discussion was passed in an amended form.

Lotte Heller moved a resolution on peace chairs in universities, which after discussion was passed in an amended form.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs moved a resolution on an enlargement of the League of Nations which after discussion was passed in an amended form.

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams moved a resolution setting forth five reasons why the Women's International League desired the rejection of the "draft treaties of mutual assistance" referred by the Assembly of the League of Nations to the various governments. The resolution was voted upon and carried in an amended form.

Annette Roberts moved a resolution relative to the changing attitude of the churches to war. It was voted upon and carried.

J. Budinska-Tylicka moved two resolutions in regard to the protection of the rights of "national minorities." They were voted upon and carried.

Committees *

All committees were asked to report to the International Headquarters at Geneva every six months.

Recommendation in Regard to Congresses

J. Budinska-Tylicka proposed that the Executive Committee be asked to prepare more exact by-laws for procedure at Congresses, and to report to the next Congress. This was passed on to the Executive Committee.

*A list of the standing and special committees will be found on page 156.

Elections

The report of the ballot showed the following to have been elected as members of the Executive Committee:

Gertrud Baer, Emily G. Balch, Lucie De Jardin, Gabrielle Duchêne, Vilma Glücklich, Yella Hertzka, Catherine E. Marshall, Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann.

The ninth place was tied between Marguerite Gobat and Dr. Naima Sahlbom. A ballot on these two names resulted in the election of Marguerite Gobat.

Jane Addams having been the only nominee for President she was declared elected by acclamation.*

Future Work

Gertrud Baer: The topic ought to be not "Future Work," but "Immediate Work." The Resolutions which we passed are only valuable if we actively work on them. A great many proposals have been made: (1) Political; (2) Economic; and (3) Educational.

As I understand that we may have proposals from the floor I confine myself to one in each field on which all Sections ought to concentrate directly.

1. Total disarmament on land, sea, and in the air, etc. This includes fighting against secret armaments and secret military organizations, military training in schools, conscription, etc. In order to systematize this work I propose to send out a questionnaire from Geneva to every Section, containing among others the following three questions: 1. What is the greatest menace as to militarism and armaments in your country? 2. How are you tackling the question in your country? 3. Can you state with what results (with governments, or privately)?

Such an inquiry would be important from various points: 1. Continuous survey of the every-day status of the problem. 2. Providing material for the work with the respective governments, showing them what is being done in the other countries. Did men say, "After you, sir," as to disarmament? Let us women say, "Follow me."

I propose furthermore to publish Dr. Gertrud Woker's article on "Chemical Warfare" as a pamphlet in all Sections and lan-

* Lida Gustava Heymann, having declined reelection on the Executive Committee and as Vice President, was elected Honorary Vice President by the Executive Committee at its meeting immediately following the Congress.

guages, and in all big and small dailies and magazines, especially also among Young People, as the German Section already has done half a year ago.

2. Economic. Free Trade is a work which ought to be taken up by all the Sections simultaneously. The chaos in Europe, famine and shortage, are greatly a result of those economic barriers, the tariffs, and of difficulties of transportation, rather than of lack of production or products.

3. Educational. Internally every single section ought to study very seriously the movements which are adapted to transform the present economic system by non-violent methods, such as the cooperative movement, guild socialism, free land, free exchange, etc. Women must be trained in order to be ready for social peace as well as for international peace. Without social peace no international peace is possible.

Vilma Glücklich: As an old teacher I see one of the greatest obstacles to a growing pacifistic public opinion in the fact that only a small minority of teachers are aware of their great responsibility in this question. Therefore I think that great efforts will have to be made in order to give to those teachers who are willing to work on our lines the best possible information about the best methods for such work.

Our house in Geneva, the Maison Internationale, gets usually empty in winter, and could very well take in six to eight young teachers from abroad, whom a scholarship would enable to come there to study for six months. We could easily get the Institut Jean Jacques Rousseau, a very famous psychological and pedagogical college for teachers, to organize courses for the purpose of giving the necessary scientific foundation for pacifistic education. We could introduce our students to prominent representatives of the most important international organizations residing at Geneva, among them the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. We could perhaps afford to invite some prominent young member like Gertrud Baer, Rachel DuBois, Marguerite Dumont, or Dorothy Evans, to come and discuss with them the principles and the action of our League, with which the International Secretary could also make them acquainted.

The Headquarters could also organize an international exchange of available speakers, if each Section would kindly notify us of any journey of well-informed members to another country.



DR. PASTORIZA FLORES
Ecuador



A GROUP FROM THE BRITISH
EMPIRE

Ida Perry Johnson, Antillean Islands,
British West Indies; Eva M. Mac-
naghten, Great Britain; Grace J.
Paul, Ceylon.



JOSEFA LLANES
Philippine Islands

Headquarters, if told whether the traveling fellow-worker speaks in public or could address a private meeting, could at once give notice to the Section in the country visited or Sections on the way, and even the low-valuta countries would be able to put their members in touch with fellow-workers from abroad. This would strengthen considerably the feeling of cooperation and solidarity.

A regular exchange of news for the press could enable Headquarters to mention in its News Letters, or send out immediately, news that is of importance for the work of our League. Some of this would be encouraging for all the Sections; other information would show the kind of opposition our work meets in different countries. As long as we cannot afford to have a quite professional press service all over the world, it would give better information than the daily press, and enable us many times to rectify the false news which appears again and again in each country about the pacifistic work and its workers abroad.

Marguerite Gobat: I want to draw the attention of the Sections concerned to the growing wave of anti-semitism which is now spreading over countries which have hitherto been spared, as for example, Switzerland, where there is now a great propaganda against the Jews. This propaganda is due to the campaign of Henry Ford and others in the United States, and to the book, "The International Jew," which has been translated into several languages and is in almost all hands. In some countries, in Germany especially, Jewish children have been ill treated by other children in school, students have been turned out from the universities; the same in America. As a question of immediate action I urge the Sections to work against this propaganda which might lead to dreadful abuses and outbreaks of violence.

Rosika Schwimmer appealed for the establishment of a press service of our own, and for giving mutual information in regard to peace lectures.

Andrée Jouve said that if we had only one summer school it must be made of general interest; but if we had more than one we might devote one to a course of training in peace organization and propaganda.

Ella Boynton proposed that each National Section should create a committee similar to that which the British Section had organized during the past year, to define what kind of an associa-

tion of nations they wished established, and how it would differ from the present League of Nations.

Virginia Piatti-Tango urged that the delegates and members should do all they can to correct false reports and check their spread, and suggested that each country should appoint someone whose duty it should be to send to a committee to be established at Geneva, any reports injurious to the cause of peace. The committee should investigate the truth of such reports, and send out information based on its findings.

Annette Roberts desired that an annual disarmament day be set, the date to be decided by the Executive Committee.

Marie Johnson suggested the importance of a study by the Sections of the question of cooperation, which she said must replace the present system.

Discussion of Finances

Emily G. Balch: I was for so long Secretary-Treasurer of the League that I cannot get over my habit of realizing that it is impossible to do work without money to pay for it. We all wish it were not so. We need money for our Geneva office and our International activity generally, and hitherto members from the various National Sections have come to each Congress prepared to make their contributions for carrying these on. This time it has been different because we met in a distant country and the cost of sending delegates, even after our United States Section had offered as much help as it could, has been so great.

However, we have generated power here, as we hope, that will be felt as delegates go back to their respective Sections. We all must find means to make our work stronger and broader and more helpful than before. The opportunity was never so great.

The work of the Geneva office could be supported, we believe, completely, if we had two thousand Associate Members, each paying \$5 a year. That does not seem at all an impossible goal. I beg you to consider what would be a reasonable and possible number of Associate Members to be secured in your country.

It would be such a splendid and life-saving thing if we had every year coming in, as a regular matter, an income sufficient to support our regular international work, and could devote our other money-raising efforts to special undertakings and to the national work of our respective Sections. We have already

seven or eight hundred Associate Members. I wish that all those present who are not Associate Members would become so at once if they can afford to, and that they would find friends whom they can induce to become Associate Members. I think there is no reason why we should not have 5,000 Associate Members, but 2,000 we must have.

Now in regard to the Report of the Congress. It has been proposed that we raise the money for that here and now. I fear that it is going to be a very considerable expense; printing, paper, and postage are all costly. As I remember it, when we printed it in three languages in Geneva it cost over \$3,000. Now I do not know at all how expensive it is going to be printed in English in America, and in French and German in Europe.

The President: We might do two things: We might take pledges for the printing of the Report, or for the securing of International Associate Members. An International Associate pays \$5 a year, and if we had two thousand such members—if we had thirteen hundred more—we would be out of the woods. We have seven or eight hundred now. We might take pledges in the line of securing these International Members.

Pledges were volunteered from the delegates and visitors to the number of 324.

The Congress then adjourned and dissolved itself into a farewell reception.

Evening Meetings

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 8:30 p. m.

Pan American Problems in Relation to World Peace

Chairman, Zonia Baber

The program of the meeting carried the following resolution, which was passed in principle by the Congress at The Hague, in 1915, and has been affirmed by succeeding Congresses of the Women's International League:

Whereas, claims arising from the investments of capitalists of one country in the resources of another are fertile sources of international complications,

Therefore, be it resolved, That we urge upon our respective Parliaments the passage of laws forbidding the use of the army or navy in collecting private debts or in protecting private property in foreign countries.

The aim of this session was to secure a presentation of the Pan American problems which prevent mutual confidence and sympathetic cooperation between peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The time interval between the conception of the program and the meeting of the Congress was too short to secure a representative from each country. The major difficulties, however, were presented.

The Antillean Islands (British West Indies) were represented by Ida Perry Johnson (Carib Indian, born on St. Vincent Island, taught in neighboring islands).

Bolivia was represented by Elena Calderon (daughter of the former minister from Bolivia to the United States).

Canada was represented by the Hon. Agnes Macphail (Member of the House of Commons, Ottawa).

Ecuador was represented by Pastoriza Flores, Ph. D. (the first woman from Ecuador to take the degree of doctor of philosophy in political science).

Guatemala was represented by Marie C. Moulun (teacher).

The Philippine Islands were represented by Josefa Llanes, A. M. (a student at Columbia University).

The Iroquois Indians were represented by Mabel Powers (an adopted Iroquois Indian).

Ida Perry Johnson: The economic and industrial conditions of the Antillean Islands constitute their chief problem. In some cases capitalization of their resources by outsiders who give the islanders a mere pittance as remuneration for their labor, causes unrest among these people.

In most of the dependent islands the people need closer intercourse with the mother-country and a deeper share of responsibility in deciding questions pertaining to peace and war. It may safely be assumed that their decision will be guided by a knowledge of the evil consequences of war.

In social affairs the situation is much more comforting than in most Pan American countries, a circumstance which the Antillean keenly realizes when urged by prospects of financial betterment he leaves his home for these shores. He now finds that color characteristics instead of intellectual ability and refinement, determine economic and social progress.

Racial no less than international relations require the consideration of truth and justice. What is required is a new dawn of modern civilization which will embrace races and peoples of

every tongue and clime, and in which the universal recognition of every individual will have a place, not according to racial distinction, but according to intellectual and moral worth.

Elena Calderon: Bolivia, rich in all kinds of natural resources, is situated in the center of South America. Her primary need is easy transportation by which her vast riches may be brought to the needs of people.

Her increasing economic development makes it daily more and more imperative that she recover her lost independent contact with the world. If the present situation is maintained, Bolivia, feeling the unbearable restraint of her commerce, will be obliged to seek some way of freeing herself from such obstructions.

When Chile and Peru signed the treaty of Ancon in 1883 they failed to allow Bolivia, one of the belligerents, to be present to defend her rights. In 1923 the President of the United States invited Peru and Chile to a conference in Washington to settle this long-standing dispute. Bolivia's request to be heard was unfortunately denied again.

This question has a deeper significance than the mere adjudication of disputed territory. It concerns the very life of Bolivia, her freedom of commerce and her contact with other countries.

The spirit of good will must be the fundamental policy of all the American Republics in order to secure and maintain permanent peace in Pan America.

Hon. Agnes Macphail: Canada suffers from war psychology. We have not been near to the horror of war, and so with us altogether too much of the glamor and supposed romance remain. We have concentrated on the technique of war, and left the technique of peace undeveloped.

Our great distances make it difficult to get like-minded people together. In the school books the soldier is given first place; honor and courage are almost invariably associated with the killing of our fellowmen. Military training under direct supervision of the militia has increased from 10,000 in 1912, to 105,000 in 1922, in our schools.

We are beginning to realize that war and industry cannot exist together. We have overproduction; yet the needs of the people are not satisfied, and we suffer from unemployment. We need a change to cooperative methods. Our wider relationship as part of an empire with a none too clearly defined status, intensifies our problem. We suffer from a tariff which is commercial warfare,

although at the present time in Canada the majority of the people are desirous of better trade relations with the United States.

Our mutual boundary line is unguarded by a single gun; and this because in 1817 the two countries prepared for peace, and as a result they got peace. The Rush-Bagot exchange of notes provided for the disarming of the Great Lakes.

In Canada the farm movement and the labor movement are desirous of world peace. A gathering in London, Ontario, of all civic bodies, recently supported a resolution to cease the manufacture of munitions, and in favor of the outlawry of war. A group of university students entered a municipal body in convention assembled, to support peace.

Conditions are driving people to think. Increasing numbers are realizing that our problems are world problems, and we must solve them together or perish together.

Dr. Pastoriza Flores: There are three outstanding causes that hinder peace in the land south of the Rio Grande. The first may be classified under **internal** struggles, which lead to social and economic backwardness and open a splendid field for exploitation; the second under **Inter-Hispanic** struggles, due mainly to boundary controversies; and the third may be considered under **relations between the United States and Hispanic America**. In this connection we think of the Monroe Doctrine, and the various policies of the United States toward Hispanic America. In accordance with these policies Hispanic America is divided into the Caribbean Countries, Mexico, and South America.

The first has been regarded as the "Sphere of Political Coercion"; the second, because of frequent interventions, as the "Sphere of Potential Menace"; and the third as the "Sphere of Potential Ascendancy," or a field where cooperation may be a working reality.

To overcome these obstacles to peace we must resort to education and patience; study the causes that lead to misunderstanding; learn each other's language, history, conditions; face facts; educate the man-of-the-streets who shapes public opinion; set aside petty and ill-understood patriotic motives, and promote the noble policy of Pan Americanism.

Maria C. Moulun: The American Continent shows different characteristics due to its variety in race and culture. Latin America looks to North America for energy and action, while she can give in return the qualities inherent to her Latin past.

These racial differences would be of mutual service if blended through an interchange of ideas.

For Central America the great problem is the federation of the five Republics, which we hope may be realized. Furthermore, the harmonious understanding between the countries of this Continent would be the inspiration that this youthful land of the future could bring to the Old World.

Women will have a great share in this task; and the women of Guatemala are eager to join in such an enterprise. Mothers build the minds of men; if they can instill into the hearts of their sons the idea that every individual and every nation has its own grandeur and beauty, we might hope for the attainment of the most perfect of ends—a peaceful understanding among nations.

Josefa Llanes: Women are feeling, thinking, and acting for humanity. Women's part in the establishment of the New Order, in securing world stability as shown by congresses of this type, is no longer speculative. The world's affairs can no longer be trusted to men alone. With all their wisdom, sagacity, and shrewdness, they have made a rather bad mess of this earth.

I come from the Philippines, a small country in the Far East; but there too we find women imbued with the same ideals, penetrated with as much love for mankind, as you. In their own little way they are helping the great cause along.

In certain respects we may classify Korea and Central America with the Philippine Islands. Although Central America and Korea are politically independent, owing to the paramount interest of foreign capitalists, like the Philippines they are not free. Small nations believe that some international machinery—a world forum and court—are essential for the maintenance of world peace.

The peace of the world will be unstable just so long as private investments are made in backward countries by individuals of strong nations which protect the investments of their nationals in foreign lands. Economic imperialism is a formidable obstacle to peace.

The Filipinos are a peaceful people by nature. Even in our present engrossing national aspiration, force is inconceivable as a means of achieving our independence to work out our own destiny.

Mabel Powers: From the land of the Iroquois I have come to bring to you some of the sacred peace fire that burned with a

white light on this continent nearly five centuries ago. In 1459 my adopted people, the Iroquois, had formed a great Peace League, a social organization of such justice, equality, and brotherhood that students of government concede that it has not been equaled nor surpassed by any so-termed Christian people—a league the genius of which has baffled statesmen; a league now studied in our universities as a model government; a league that turned the tide of civilization on this continent, and made this an English-speaking nation.

For more than three centuries the French, English, and Americans have done their best to wipe this Peace League off the map. Yet these people still exist, still claiming their sovereignty. They have proved immune to the "melting pot" because theirs was a civilization of the spirit, not of dollars and things. The Indian has held in trust for us the soul of North America, while we have been wandering in the far country of materialism. He has kept the guide fires burning on the trail of democracy and brotherhood until we should arise to claim our heritage.

Today our first Americans are without social or legal status, being denied those elemental human rights that are guaranteed to all men and women under the United States Constitution.

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 8:30 p. m.

How to Secure World Peace

Chairman, Gabrielle Duchêne

The speakers were:

W. Gladys Rinder, of Great Britain.

Milena Illová, of Czecho-Slovakia.

Yella Hertzka, of Austria.

Lucie Dejardin, of Belgium.

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 8:30 p. m.

Mass Meeting

Chairman, Jane Addams

The speakers were:

Judge Florence Allen, of the Supreme Court of Ohio.

Dr. Gertrud Woker, of Switzerland.

Ester Akesson-Beskow, of Sweden.

Rosika Schwimmer, of Hungary.

Marcelle Capy, of France.

MONDAY, MAY 5, 8:30 p. m.

European Problems in Relation to World Peace

Chairman, Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann

Vachel Lindsay read his poem, "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight."

The speakers were:

Kirby Page, of the United States.

Auguste Kirchhoff, of Germany.

Maria Aull, of Czecho-Slovakia.

Dr. Oksana Khrapka-Dragomanova, of Ukraine.

Dr. John A. Ryan, of the United States.

TUESDAY, MAY 6, 8:30 p. m.

How to Prevent the Next War

Chairman, Lida Gustava Heymann

The speakers were:

Bertrand Russell, of Great Britain.

Hon. Henrik Shipstead, United States Senator from Minnesota.

Dorothy Evans, of Great Britain.

All the evening meetings were well attended and much appreciated.

Mass Meeting For Young People

SUNDAY, MAY 4, 2:30 p. m.

Youth For Peace

Chairman, Annalee Stewart

The mass meeting of young people was in charge of a committee of nine, representing thirty-two cooperating youth organizations. The program was arranged against the background of the past war, together with a realization of what the next war will be. The young people from various parts of the world spoke of the conditions of their environment and of what the youth were endeavoring to do toward making peace permanent.

The program included:

What the Next War Will Mean, by Dorothy Evans, of Great Britain.

Present Conditions, and What the Young People are doing about them, by Muthammah Thillayampalam, of India; Heberto Sein, of Mexico; Hiro Ohashi, of Japan; and Gertrud Baer, of Germany.

Cooperation, by Eugene Corbie, of the United States.

The Outlawry of War, by Allan A. Hunter, of the United States.

An address by the Hon. William E. Borah, United States Senator from Idaho.

A few condensed extracts from the speeches follow:

Dorothy Evans, speaking of the ideal world which can only base itself on human equality, said: Naturally there will be no difficulty in bringing it about when we all want it. You few of the people who fear it, you few of the people who are still blind enough to think of serving your own advantage, you keep as henchmen the masses of men. Naturally, in spite of your great international solidarity, when we have the solidarity of the young people of the world welded around the globe, nothing can stand against it. But those people who fear the terrible days of equality, those people who fear to stand on their feet with nothing but their own merits to recommend them, have nothing to bolster them up to their own capacities and their own character; but they have the one terrible weapon which divides the people of the world and keeps them under, and that weapon is war.

I want to ask the young Americans, and the young people of all the world, to stand against this dividing thing, and weld together, so that they never will be split and wrecked as they have been before by hatreds and bitterness.

Muthammah Thillayampalam: India has not been left untouched by the upheavals that have occurred in other parts of the world. The world is a unit—more so now than it was a quarter of a century ago. Thus we find the same feverish heat and restlessness pulsating through India today as elsewhere. Economically India is suffering from the same evils of modern industrialism as the rest of the world. Our great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi, speaks for the rest of India in his vehement expressions against the evils and dangers of materialism. The youth of India

are asking whether it is possible to have the modern factories and industries without their accompanying evils, or if they should be entirely kept out of the country, as Mahatma has sometimes urged. Mahatma Gandhi, more than any other leader of the country, has presented the personality of Jesus Christ, stripped of western denominationalism. India today sees Christ in Mahatma Gandhi's life of self-denial and simplicity, far more than she ever would have seen it through the eyes of the Occident. If the women of the world can ally themselves together for the cause of peace, monarchs and potentates will bow before them.

Heberto Sein: The youth of Mexico have supported enthusiastically the radical actions of Chilean students boldly opposing the war plans of their own militarists in the Chile-Peru controversy. And still respectable people say: Students have no business interfering in international affairs. But, I ask you, are not young men called upon to fight out the blunders and injustices caused by governments? Shall not the youth of the world demand a voice in that enterprise which consumes the lives of millions of young men? Were not millions of young men killed in Europe that we, the youth, might see the light, and speak the daring word? Guns have spoken for powerful business interests. Who shall speak for the people to the world? Let us scatter ourselves among the peoples of the earth proclaiming the doctrine of the Refusal to Fight. The world may soon forget what we say here. But it could never forget the revolt of the united youth of the world.

Hiro Ohashi: It is the general trend of the world today to establish a world community by forgetting the difference of customs, environments, and colors, to promote the happiness of mankind. Limitation of all immigration from all parts of the world may be necessary, but exclusion of one race discriminately to other races is unjust and wrong.

Gertrud Baer: Most young people in the war-stricken European countries are poor today, but they have a fortune in ideas, and their highest ideals are to apply their individual ethics in public life. We have been taught, "Thou shalt not kill," and we will not kill any more. We have been taught, "Thou shalt not steal," and we will not steal any more.

Eugene Corbie: I am going to ask you, in considering the question of war, whether it is possible to get true human understanding as long as we remain a people divided, without trying

to understand one another. If because of my very color you will condemn me without giving me a trial, are you sane in your judgment when you are asking for everlasting peace? There can be no peace in the world, no matter what the economic determinism is, until you have a full understanding of all the races, their hopes, and their aspirations; and until you are ready to give them a chance for their full development.

Allen A. Hunter: A conviction is dawning upon us that this old method just falls down because in the first place it does not, in the inherent nature of the processes of war, guarantee the triumph of justice. Then again we notice that war simply sets in motion new forces of bitterness and hatred and misunderstanding that get out of all control. War does not realize the ends that it sets out to realize. And war neither punishes the guilty nor does it protect the helpless. There has developed in this younger generation of ours new friendliness and new trust in the people, and a new sense that life is something to be revered, that personality is sacred; and therefore it is that no longer will we throw our lives into that which crushes life, and tears the bodies of children asunder. No more of that! We are for life and for more abundant life. We are not just trying to break the backbone of war, and delegalize it. No, we are out to abolish treason to the United States.

Hon. William E. Borah: Whether I should agree with those here assembled, or disagree with them in their views and their methods of securing peace, I contend that they have the absolute right under the privileges of the American Constitution to discuss their views at any place they want to. If we have to turn the cause of peace into a fight for free speech, we will have the fight.

Committee on Arrangements for the Mass Meeting

Annalee Stewart, Fellowship of Youth for Peace, Chairman.

Gertrude Klein, Young People's Socialist League.

Andrew Allison, Urban League.

Kenneth Close, Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club.

Dorothy Beard, Junior International League.

Richard Williams, Junior International League.

Grace Hubbard, Women's International League.

Thornton B. Penfield, Jr., Fellowship of Youth for Peace.

Dorothy Biddle, Young Friends' Society.

Reception at the White House

The President of the United States received the members of the Congress at the White House at noon on Wednesday, May 7.

International Summer School

In connection with the Fourth Congress an International Summer School was held in Chicago, Ill., from May 17 to May 31, on the general subject of the Human Factors in Internationalism.

In announcing the School it was stated that the curriculum would consist of several series of lectures dealing with the Historic, Racial, Economic, Political, Biological, Psychological, and Religious Bases of Internationalism as the foundation of constructive propositions and positive suggestions for international cooperation; and that attention would be devoted to the pathological factors and hostile obstructions to world organization only so far as was necessary to make clear affirmative proposals.

The School held its weekday meetings in the rooms of the Chicago Woman's Club in the Fine Arts Building, and in the University of Chicago, except those of Thursday, May 29, which were held in Bowen Hall, Hull-House. The attendance was increasingly large, with standing room only in the final days, though the ample Club rooms held 525 chairs.

Program

SATURDAY, MAY 17, Evening, Fine Arts Building

Dinner and Reception, with addresses of welcome from Mayor William E. Dever and from women holding positions of importance in the City Government. The guests of honor were the foreign delegates and the presidents of the important women's organizations of the city.

SUNDAY, MAY 18, Afternoon, University of Chicago

Address of welcome from the Vice President of the University, Dr. James H. Tufts.

Brief statements by Delegates to the International Congress at Washington: Lotte Heller from Austria, Lucie Dejudin from Belgium, Catharine Karavéloff from Bulgaria, Dorothy Wong from China, Lucy Woodsworth from Canada, Milena Illová from Czecho-Slovakia, Elna Quistgaard from Denmark, Dorothy Evans from England, Andrée Jouve from

France, Lida Gustava Heymann from Germany, Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann from Holland, Eugenie Meller from Hungary, Marie Johnson from Ireland, Hiro Ohashi from Japan, Lilian Holby from Norway, Petrona Ramos from the Philippines, Dr. Budinska-Tylicka from Poland, Dr. Naima Sahlbom from Sweden, Dr. Gertrud Woker from Switzerland, Epaish Youssoff from Turkey, Dr. Nadja Surowzowa from Ukraine.

MONDAY, MAY 19, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Professor Ferdinand Schevill. Professor Modern History, University of Chicago. Author Political History of Modern Europe, etc.

The Historic Development of Internationalism I. Concepts of human fellowship among the Greeks. The coming of Christianity. The significance for the idea of unity of the Roman Empire. Human solidarity and medieval civilization. The dawn of the modern world.

Dorothy Evans. Secretary British W. I. L. Lecturer Hygiene and Psychology. Member Executive Committee Fabian Women, etc.

The Rise of a New Internationalism in Europe.

Lorado Taft. Artist, lecturer, and author.
Internationalism in Art.

Afternoon, University of Chicago

Andrée Jouve (France), Secretary French Section W. I. L. Teacher of history in State College for Girls.
Cosmopolitanism in French Literature.

Dr. Anita Augspurg (Germany), Ph. D. University of Zurich; Editor Women in the State. First woman lawyer in Germany.

Goethe, the Great Internationalist.

Evening, University of Chicago

Principal L. P. Jacks of Manchester College, Oxford, England, lectured under the auspices of the University on A New Approach to the League of Nations. All members of the Summer School were invited.

TUESDAY, MAY 20, Fine Arts Building

Professor Ferdinand Schevill.

The Historic Development of Internationalism II. The con-

tent of the modern mind. The coming of science. The industrial revolution and the newer social forms and functions. The steady progress of the idea of human solidarity.

Jackson H. Ralston. Represented the United States in the first dispute submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague under The Hague Peace Convention of 1899. Author International Arbitral Law and Procedure, Democracy and International Law, etc.

Democracy and International Law.

Symposium: Minorities of Southeastern Europe and Their Future.

Dr. Nadja Surowzowa (Ukraine). Ph. D. University of Vienna. Journalist, author, and lecturer. Vice-President Union of Ukrainian Peasant Clubs.

Eugenie Miskolczy Meller (Hungary). Lecturer, editor of *Nok Lapja*, official organ of working women.

Dr. J. Budinska-Tylicka (Poland). President Polish section W. I. L. Prominent physician in Warsaw.

Afternoon, University of Chicago

Lucie Dejardin (Belgium). Inspector Department of Labor, Belgium; Chevalier of the Order of Leopold II. After three years as a prisoner of war organized society for relief of children of Central Empires.

International Aspects of Labor.

Johanna Wimmer (Germany). Y. W. C. A. worker in the Ruhr.

Labor Conditions in the Ruhr.

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann (Holland). President Dutch Section. Interested in many public and social movements.

International Aspects of the Cooperative Movement.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Jackson H. Ralston.

International Courts of Arbitration.

Lida Gustava Heymann (Germany). Vice-President W. I. L. Author, speaker, and organizer. Long an enthusiastic advocate for woman suffrage and for peace.

Democracy and Reaction in Europe.

Professor Robert Morss Lovett. Professor of English at the University of Chicago. Author. Editor *New Republic*.

America's International Obligations.

Afternoon, University of Chicago

Ester Akesson-Beskow (Sweden). Member various peace missions; sent to war zones by the W. I. L., Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Society of Friends.

Missions of Reconciliation in Finland and the Ruhr.

Lady Clare Annesley (England). Member of similar peace missions.

Non-Violence as a Religious Principle.

THURSDAY, MAY 22, Morning, University of Chicago

Professor Robert Morss Lovett.

Changing Attitude Toward War in English Literature.

James Weldon Johnson. Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Author, *Fifty Years and Other Poems.*

The Race Problem and Peace.

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams (England). Physician in Newcastle-on-Tyne. Active in English Labor Party and many reform movements.

The Foreign Policies of the English Labor Government.

Afternoon, University of Chicago

Marcelle Cappy (France). Writer, journalist, and lecturer. In 1918, with Pierre Brizon, founded *La Vogue*.

International Influences in Western Europe.

Lotte Heller (Austria). Lecturer and journalist. Addressed the first great meeting of women after the establishment of the Austrian Republic. President Austrian section W. I. L.

International Influences in Eastern Europe.

FRIDAY, MAY 23, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Symposium: The Outlawry of War.

Salmon O. Levinson. Author with Senator Knox of the plan for the outlawry of war.

Catherine Karavéloff (Bulgaria). Well known in the Balkans as a writer and leader in women's activities.

Marie Johnson (Ireland). Active member of the Woman's Mansion House Peace Committee which worked for the cessation of hostilities during the civil war in Dublin.

Harridas T. Mazumdar (India). Author, *Gandhi the Apostle*, and editor of *Gandhi's Sermon on the Sea*.



ESTER AKESSON-BESKOW
Sweden

Yella Hertzka (Austria). Founder of the first Austrian School of Agriculture for women. Active in many social movements in Vienna.

Afternoon, University of Chicago

Milena Illová. President of Czecho-Slovakian section of W. I. L. Active in many progressive movements. Internationalism and the New Czecho-Slovakia.

Auguste Kirchoff (Germany). Active in many forms of social service in Bremen, Germany.

Anti Semitism—an Aftermath of War.

Evening, University of Chicago

George E. Vincent, President Rockefeller Foundation.
World Organization for Health.

SATURDAY, MAY 24, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Professor Herbert A. Miller. Professor of Sociology, Oberlin College, Ohio. Chairman Committee on International Relations of American Sociological Society. Author Immigrant Heritages.

Migrations of Peoples.

Professor Herbert A. Miller

Modern Immigration.

Dr. Oksana Khrapka-Dragomanova (Ukraine). President Ukrainian section W. I. L. Degree in Law University of Petrograd. Member of staff of Ukrainian legation at Vienna.

Dr. Margarete Stegmann (Germany). Recently elected member of the Reichstag.

New Legislation in Germany.

Epaish Youssouff (Turkey). Graduate of American College for Girls in Constantinople. First woman journalist in Turkey.

SUNDAY, MAY 25, Afternoon, Bowen Country Club, Waukegan, Ill.

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams (England).

The Labor Policies of Ramsay Macdonald's Government. General Discussion.

MONDAY, MAY 26, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Professor Warder C. Allee. Professor of Biology, University of Chicago. Member American Friends' Service Committee. Biological Bases of International Cooperation.

Dr. Naima Sahlbom (Sweden). Professor of Mineralogy, University of Stockholm. Research professor and lecturer. Editor *Nya Văgar*.

The Internationalism of Science.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland). First woman doctor in the Netherlands. Made a trip around the world with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, to study the position of women in many countries. Sent out original call for International Congress of Women at The Hague in 1915.

Overpopulation and War.

Afternoon, Fine Arts Building

Professor Ellsworth Faris. Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

The Ethnological Bases for Racial Cooperation.

Yella Hertzka (Austria).

Recent Land Readjustments in Eastern Europe.

TUESDAY, MAY 27, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Professor Anton J. Carlson. Professor of Physiology, University of Chicago, Sanitary Corps, U. S. A., 1917, with A. E. F., 1919.

Scientific Bases of International Cooperation.

Dr. Gertrud Woker (Switzerland). Professor of Chemistry in the University of Bern. The Canton of Bern founded a chair that she might carry on her experimental work. Author *Die Katalyse*, etc.

The Attitude of Scientists toward Chemical Warfare.

Marguerite Dumont (France). Assistant to Secretary National Association of Commerce, Paris, France.

Internationalism and Big Business.

Afternoon, Fine Arts Building

Dr. Glen Levin Swiggett. United States Bureau of Education. Writer and lecturer on international topics with special reference to Pan-America. Professor of Romance languages at the University of Tennessee.

World Markets.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Dr. Glen Levin Swiggett.

Raw Material and World Commerce.

Lucy Woodsworth (Canada). Publicist, lecturer, and social worker.

Internationalism and Public Opinion.

Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary). Publicist and lecturer. Sent by Karolyi, President of the First Hungarian Republic, as Ambassador to Switzerland. First woman to hold such a position.

The Press and Internationalism.

THURSDAY, MAY 29, Morning, Bowen Hall, Hull-House

Symposium of American Citizens of Foreign Birth. Internationalism through Immigration.

Professor Edith Abbott. Dean School of Social Science Administration, University of Chicago. Author Immigration, Select Documents and Case Records, Women in Industry, etc.

Judge Harry Fisher. Judge of the Circuit Court, Cook County, Ill.

From Russia to the U. S. A.

Jens Jensen. Prominent Landscape Gardener of Chicago. From Denmark to the U. S. A.

Professor Boza Oumiroff. Professor at Bush Conservatory of Music, Chicago.
Czecho-Slovakian Songs.

Evening, Bowen Hall, Hull-House

Dr. Augustus O. Thomas. Author History of Nebraska, etc. State Commissioner of Education for Maine, and President of the World Federation of Education Associations.
Education for Peace.

FRIDAY, MAY 30, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Symposium: Education and Internationalism.

Augustus O. Thomas.

Matilda Widegren (Sweden). President of the Swedish Section W. I. L. Assistant Head Mistress State Normal School for Girls, Stockholm. Member Swedish Commission World's Fair, St. Louis.

Dorothy Wong (China).

Petrona Ramos (Philippines).

Afternoon, Fine Arts Building

Symposium: Changing Attitude of the Church Towards War.
Rev. Frederick Siedenberg. School of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago.

Rev. Louis Mann. Sinai Temple, Chicago.

Rev. Paul Hutchinson. Editor Christian Century, Chicago.

SATURDAY, MAY 31, Morning, Fine Arts Building

Symposium: The New York Movement for Peace. Students' Protest Against War.

Elizabeth Lowes. Student Northwestern University.

Alice Hansen. Student Northwestern University.

Gertrud Baer (Germany). Secretary German Section W. I. L. Occupied first position held by a woman as Under State Secretary in the Ministry of Social Welfare. Especially interested in young people's movements in Europe.

Howard Becker. Northwestern University Liberal Club.

Lilian Holby (Norway). Recent graduate University of Norway.

Walter Mueller. Editor The Student Challenge.

Howard McClusky. University of Chicago Liberal Club.

Afternoon, Fine Arts Building

Meeting under the auspices of the League of Youth for Peace.

J. C. Wong (China).

A. M. Garcia (Mexico).

David Eichel.

Erling H. Lunde.

Among the many hostesses for luncheons, teas, and dinners arranged especially for the foreign delegates were the Everyday Club, the World Friendship Commission of the Chicago Church Federation, the Junior League of the Hyde Park Baptist Church, the Chicago Council of Jewish Women, the Chicago Women's Aid, the Chicago Society of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Evanston Council on Foreign Relations, the International Relations Committee of the Chicago Woman's Club, and the Appomatox Club.

Organizing Committee International Summer School

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE, University of Chicago, Chairman.
 MOLLIE RAY CARROLL, Goucher College.
 FLORA J. COOKE, Francis Parker School, Chicago.
 MARGARET B. CROOK, Smith College.
 RACHEL DU BOIS, Philadelphia.
 GRACE DE GRAFF, Portland, Oregon.
 FLORENCE HOLBROOK, Forestville School, Chicago.
 MRS. TEMPLETON JOHNSON, San Diego, Calif.
 MRS. WILLIAM I. HULL, Swarthmore College, Pa.
 VIDA B. SCUDDER, Wellesley College, Mass.

EX OFFICIO

JANE ADDAMS, International President.
 EMILY BALCH, International Executive Committee.
 LUCY BIDDLE LEWIS, National President.
 AMY WOODS, National Secretary.
 ELLA BOYNTON, President Chicago Branch.
 HARRIET VAN DER VAART, Office Secretary, Summer School.

The Pax Special*

The "Pax Special," a private car, was planned primarily to carry twenty-five International delegates from Washington to Chicago and back to the coast in time for their sailing, in order that they might see as much of America as possible in their six weeks' stay and that the cities might have the privilege of knowing this very unusual assemblage of women from sixteen countries. It turned out to be, as Gertrud Baer characterized it, a twentieth century Trojan horse, which rolled into the city while the inhabitants slept, and then when the sun rose, this being 1924 A. D. instead of B. C., there issued forth women instead of warriors and they took the city by international understanding instead of force of arms. Anti-peace propaganda of "one hundred per cent American patriotism," based on misinformation and deliberate falsehood, preceded the Pax Special and was given wide publicity, not only in every city where meetings had been planned, but through the country. Comparison leaves no doubt of the one source from which it emanated. The real facts that the President received the delegates at the White House; that they were entertained at Goucher College at luncheon, through the invitation of President and Mrs. Guth; that they visited other Universities; that a May breakfast was given in their honor in Philadelphia; that on Mothers' Day, Sunday, May 11, they spoke in Pittsburgh in sixteen churches of different denominations, and at a large mass meeting, was not considered "fit to print." Local committees have faced unreasoning hostility, calumny, and threats. "A Radical," said Senator Borah at the Congress, "is a person who upholds the Constitution." It was due to

* Report of Amy Woods, Secretary of the United States Section, in the July Bulletin of the United States Section, 1403 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

a few such courageous radicals in each city who upheld the Constitutional right of free speech that the visit of the Pax Special became a crusade of peace, gathering members and friends at every stop.

Each City Had Its Own Particular Triumph

In Wheeling, where there was not even a semblance of committee left, the day was spent in visiting editors, the officers of business men's organizations, and city officials. At five the mayor came to a reception given him by the "Pax Special," made a handsome apology for the city, and was made an honorary member of the W. I. L. In the evening a public dinner for sixty was held in the leading hotel. Cincinnati was the seat of the first concentrated opposition. Members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and a few members of the Legion, apparently in the name of the whole organization, carried on a premeditated campaign of calumny until the reception committee, representing fifty-four organizations, dissolved, leaving only one woman, Mrs. Simon Kuhn, to carry out the plan. A neutral committee was appointed to investigate any written charges made against the W. I. L., with Mrs. Robert Taft chairman, and the evening before the delegates arrived the findings that the charges were unwarranted were released to the press. The delegates were entertained at Mrs. Kuhn's home for breakfast, spoke at a large public luncheon at noon in the city, and in the evening spoke again at a private reception where Mrs. Kuhn's large house was crowded.

Dayton, Ohio, gave the "Pax Special" a generous welcome. The mayor was at the station with a local committee to receive us before breakfast. During the day we visited the Federal experiment station for aircraft. Here models of all parts made by private concerns are tested (the Government does not make its own models). We were shown how the poison gases of the Chemical Warfare Department can be distributed by airplanes through their exhaust. We were entertained by the Woman's Club and the Press Club at luncheon, and in the evening the auditorium of the Y. M. C. A. was crowded with people who came to see for themselves what manner of people we were. The Dayton Committee, however, did not have an easy time. The storm had centered about the Y. M. C. A. Large contributors, men who had made millions on munitions during the war, threatened to withdraw their support if the meeting was held there. Two members of the Officers' Reserve Corps motored up from Cincinnati and threatened to break up the meeting. That evening representatives from Holland, England, France, Germany, and the United States spoke and the other members of the delegation were introduced. Half way through two men in uniform were seen to quietly leave the hall.

In the late afternoon we received a telegram that arrangements at Indianapolis were cancelled, and soon after an Indianapolis paper called us by long distance to ask if we had received the telegram and were we coming. Veiled suggestions regarding the Ku Klux and the Legion were made. We answered that we would be there at 7:30 a. m.

When we got out of the train in Indianapolis two other men besides the usual reporters and photographers were waiting in the station yard.

They denied being members of the Klan or of the Legion, although each had a Legion emblem in his buttonhole. I asked them why they were there. They said they were sent from the County Intelligence Office to protect us against roughnecks and spoke of similar work with intelligence bureaus during the war.

In Indianapolis we decided to plan the program ourselves. The citizens were invited through the evening papers to a "Pax Special" dinner followed by a meeting in the mezzanine of the principal hotel. Five sympathizers with the cardinal virtue of our Constitution—freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage—spread the invitation by telephone. Again we had the limit of our place of meeting filled and from the silence it was evident that the guests of the hotel in the foyer were listening too.

Summer School Attacked

We reached Chicago to find that the Chicago Tribune had failed in its attempt to discredit the Summer School and the Legion had failed in its attempt to prevent the University of Chicago from opening its doors to us.

Meantime Miss Addams and five of our international delegates had similar experiences in St. Louis. Members of the Legion, of voluntary military organizations formed ostensibly to protect the integrity of our democracy, and the Daughters and Dames of several wars, had been posted from Washington, and attempted to intimidate the church. The result: the cathedral filled and many people turned away from the doors.

The Return Trip

On the first of June the "Pax Special" started back on its eastern trip. We had no illusions now as to what to expect. We were hardened campaigners. The Detroit Branch of the W. I. L. had a particularly difficult time; a most offensive letter by a young physician connected with the R. O. T. C. stating that the members of the "Pax Special" should be mentally examined and placed in an insane hospital, was published in the newspapers. Resolutions were drawn up at a meeting called at the General Motors Building and sent to the City Council. At this meeting hysteria ran so high it was suggested from the floor that the "Pax Special" should be derailed and the women tarred and feathered. When the City Council met there was no one to speak for the resolution, and Mr. Brock, state chairman of organized labor, told the City Council that the population of Detroit was 80% labor and they would have the "Pax Special" there. The guests were met at the station by a long line of automobiles carrying peace slogans. They spoke at services in sixteen churches, and in the afternoon a full hall attested the spirit of the liberal elements of the city.

Cleveland's difficulty lay not in the "Pax Special" but in the fact that the Chamber of Commerce had fought the large peace parade of the week before and the organizations felt it was too soon to precipitate another issue. So Alice Gannett, chairman of the W. I. L. in Cleveland, with a small impromptu committee, arranged a hotel luncheon for three hundred, a reception in a delightful home on the heights and a dinner and forum at the Women's City Club, where the principles of the W. I. L.

were presented in five-minute speeches followed by questions from the floor.

In Buffalo, one thousand sat down to a peace luncheon and many more crowded the balconies, while at the same time in another room of the hotel a counter-militarist luncheon drew fifty.

Canada

Opposition was not confined to the United States. Toronto and Ottawa each had its share and the W. I. L. profited by unjust, adverse criticism. The delegates were entertained overnight in private homes in Toronto, spoke in the large schools and colleges, at two luncheons at noon, and in the evening addressed a mass meeting of 2,500 where heckling was anticipated but was so slight it was silly. Dr. Williams, Madame Capy, Frau Heymann, Madame Ramondt, and Miss Woods went to Ottawa on the invitation of Agnes Macphail, M. P., and other members of the Farmer and Labor groups. A dinner was given them in the Parliament House, followed by a mass meeting. In the morning they were the speakers at the graduating exercises of the large normal school, and later were received by the Prime Minister of Canada.

The tour of the "Pax Special" ended in Montreal with a trip down the harbor, luncheons, and evening meetings. We might say we almost missed the tang that opposition gives. Our delegates took back with them to Europe a realization that America is way behind the other countries in recovering from war psychosis and group fear.

Resolutions

Passed by the Congress

I. Appeal to Electors in France and Germany in the Coming Elections

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, assembled at Washington for its Fourth Biennial Congress, addresses an appeal to the electors of France and Germany to have in mind the grave responsibility laid upon them in the coming elections. The League is convinced that only by the triumph in both these countries of the sincerely democratic and progressive elements can their political and economic relations be harmonized and a European crisis averted. There is urgent need of an international policy based on mutual understanding and cooperation.

II. Compulsory Jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice

This Congress recommends National Sections to work in their own countries to induce their respective Governments to sign the optional protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice, thereby undertaking to submit to judicial decision legal disputes with other nations signing the protocol.

III. International Conference for the Outlawry of War

This Congress is of the opinion that as long as war is recognized as a legitimate method of settling international disputes it will be impossible to obtain a lasting peace. Therefore we call upon each National Section to urge its own Government to initiate, or to cooperate with other Governments in calling an International Conference for the purpose of declaring war illegal and setting up machinery to provide other methods of resolving international disputes.

IV. Conference for the Limitation of Armament to be called by the President of the United States

Believing that work towards disarmament in different countries should not wait until general disarmament can be realized, though general disarmament is our goal, we welcome with profound satisfaction the suggestion of the President of the United States in regard to the calling of an International Conference to deal with limitation of armaments and the codification of international law.

V. Chemical Warfare

Since the methods of warfare by armies and navies and aeroplanes are becoming obsolete, and their abolition would afford no real protection against the horrors of war unless the new methods—chemical and electrical—are also abolished, and since our opposition to war includes opposition to all methods of waging war, we urge our Sections to appoint committees to investigate the development of chemical warfare and its special dangers, and to organize opposition thereto, both for the sake of ending it and as a means of educating the masses as to the real character of war in general.

VI. International Good-Will Day

The Women's International League endorses the proposal of the World Conference on Education which met in San Francisco in 1923 for the observation of an annual International Good-Will Day, and asks the various National Sections to consider how they can promote appropriate celebration of this day in the schools and elsewhere in their respective countries.

VII. Higher Education and Peace

We urge that the Universities, Colleges, and University Extension Courses of the world establish special Departments and Chairs for International Relations and World Peace, in addition to and apart from the existing courses in international law.

VIII. Enlargement and Amendment of the League of Nations

Resolved, That the Women's International League shall apply to Germany, Mexico, Russia, Turkey, and the United States of

America, as important States yet outside the League of Nations, urging them earnestly to declare that they are ready to join the League on condition that the Covenant be so amended that the League may become a more satisfactory instrument of Goodwill, Justice, and Democracy.

IX. Draft Treaties of Mutual Assistance

This Congress is of opinion that the Draft Treaties of Mutual Assistance presented to the Assembly of the League of Nations, and referred by it to the respective Governments for consideration, would increase the difficulties which already stand in the way of American membership in the League, and should be rejected for the following reasons among others:

1. A general Treaty cannot provide any effective military protection, and will in practice be broken up into Partial Treaties.

2. Partial Military Treaties are injurious to the solidarity of the League of Nations, and reintroduce the worst features of the Balance of Power.

3. It is most improbable that the Treaties would result in any substantial reduction of armaments, and they might actually in some cases increase armaments.

4. It is impossible to define "aggression" in any way that will be satisfactory in practice, still less to define what is "aggressive policy" or "menace of aggression."

5. Any Partial Treaties of the kind contemplated would concentrate the attention of the Council of the League of Nations on force—the organization of force and the danger of force—instead of upon conciliation and justice; they would deprive the judgments of the League even of the measure of impartiality they now possess.

X. The Churches and War

The Congress deplores the passive assistance that the Churches have given to war in the past, and recognizes with joy symptoms of a changing attitude. It expresses the hope that in the future the Churches will oppose all war.

XI. Protection of National Minorities

Resolved:

1. That the Fourth Biennial Congress of the Women's Inter-

national League for Peace and Freedom asks the League of Nations to organize a special Permanent Commission on National Minorities.

2. That the minority Treaties be amended in favor of the National Minorities, and that the Treaties so amended be enforced at least in all countries which are members of the League of Nations.

Manifesto

Adopted by the Congress, on the Recommendation of the
Executive Committee, as a Declaration of Policy

Affirmation

In the tenth year of its existence, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom affirms that its first principles remain unshaken, and that the course of events since 1914 and the present position in Europe are the inevitable result of the violation of those principles.

Condition of Europe

Since the Armistice of 1918 Europe has continued to live under conditions essentially those of war. We have seen economic chaos, pestilence, and famine, immense military preparations on the part of the victorious Allies and the new States set up by them, the continuance of the outrage of the Armies of Occupation, the invasion of disarmed Germany, the renewal of actual war in the Near East, the oppression of minorities, the crippling and defiance of the League of Nations, the steady creation of international hatred and a universal sense of insecurity. These are the bitter fruits of man's own acts.

International Justice

We affirm again our conviction that a civilized world can be based upon the principles of international justice from which will develop international cooperation; that the use of armed force for offensive or defensive purposes and the economic blockade by States against one another must be replaced by the universal adoption of arbitration and conciliation, together with complete disarmament by land, sea, air, and the willing abandonment of non-moral ideas of sovereignty or prestige which must necessarily be subversive of international good-will.

Dictated Treaties

We declare that the principle of international justice is transgressed by the enforcement of the right of conquest in the dictated treaties which terminated the World War, and we renew our demand that all nations shall be treated as equals. New agreements must, therefore, supersede the old, and the vanquished must have the same rights as all the other States.

Democratic Control

Because of the close connection between internal and foreign politics and because international cooperation depends in the last resort upon peoples, we will continue appealing to the peoples to insist upon controlling their relations with other peoples, and in particular to women that they may build up the civilization upon which their freedom and the good of their children depends.

Social Peace

We also condemn all violence in civil and class wars, but because they are most commonly the direct consequence of social injustice we cannot condemn the violence and not the causes. It is not enough to condemn, however; we must devote ourselves to abolishing these causes. The first step towards this end must be to bring about the organization of economic life, not for individual or class profit, but for the highest possible development of every human being.

International Organization

Once more we reaffirm our belief that an international organization is essential:

1. To organize international cooperation to weld the scattered moral forces of the world into an effective political instrument.
2. To serve as a mediator in the settlement of disputes, and to pronounce judgment with the utmost impartiality possible to human beings upon the merits of all matters in dispute.

Such a body should be so constituted as to comprise all the nations of the world on a basis of genuine equality, and so make domination by any State or group of States impossible. It should derive its power from no sanctions of force but from the deterrent and persuasive power of world opinion as expressed in its

assemblies. Thus constituted it could exercise many beneficent functions in protecting minorities, in raising the conditions of labor, in promoting international education and health and the welfare of backward races, in establishing free trade, and in controlling the equitable distribution of food supplies and raw materials among the nations and in bringing about the total disarmament of its members.

Object of the League

Restatement Recommended by the Executive Committee and Adopted by the Congress

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at binding together women in every country who oppose all war and all preparation for war, whether offensive or defensive, international or civil.

They believe in and work for:

1. Complete and universal disarmament on land, on sea, and in the air, for the abolition of the hunger blockade and of the prostitution of science for destructive purposes.

2. World organization for social, political, and economic co-operation.

3. Social, political, and economic equality for all without distinction of sex, race, class, and creed.

4. Moral disarmament through education in the spirit of human unity and through the establishment of social justice.

Constitution

As Amended by the Congress

I. Name

The name shall be the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

II. Object

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at binding together women in every country who oppose all war and all preparation for war, whether offensive or defensive, international or civil.

They believe in and work for:

1. Complete and universal disarmament on land, on sea, and in the air, for the abolition of the hunger blockade and of the prostitution of science for destructive purposes.

2. World organization for social, political, and economic co-operation.

3. Social, political, and economic equality for all without distinction of sex, race, class, and creed.

4. Moral disarmament through education in the spirit of human unity and through the establishment of social justice.

III. Membership

Every Nation, free or subject, and every self-governing Dominion may be represented in the League by one National Section. Any minority in a country which claims the status of a separate nationality may also form a National Section.

Should difficulties arise as to the interpretation of this clause, they shall be submitted for decision to the next International Congress. Every National Section must support the Object of the League.

More than one hundred individuals, living in at least five different countries, agreeing with the Object of the League, without being members of any National Section, may unite as

a World Section, which would have the same rights and duties as any other Section. Only one such Section can be admitted.

IV. Executive Committee

At each International Congress an Executive Committee consisting of nine persons and the President shall be elected.

This Committee shall meet at least once a year; it shall summon an International Congress once in two years; and may summon it at any other time if the circumstances in their judgment should require it. It can decide only when there is a quorum, and a quorum will be considered one more than half of the Executive Members. The duties of the Executive Committee shall include the appointment of such sub-committees as are found to be necessary.

V. Election of President and Members of the Executive Committee

Each National Delegation may nominate nine members for the Executive Committee, and from the persons thus nominated the Congress shall elect nine members.

The President shall be nominated by the National Delegations and elected by the Congress, and shall have a casting vote on the Executive Committee.

VI. Consultative Committee

A Consultative Committee shall be formed to consist of two persons from each National Section.

The Consultative members shall have the right to attend all meetings of the Executive Committee with the right to speak, and at one meeting to be specially called each year they shall have the same rights as members of the Executive Committee. They shall be kept informed of all business transacted by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall have the power to invite the cooperation of any member of a National Section having special knowledge or aptitude for any piece of work which the Executive Committee is undertaking. The Executive Committee shall circularize National Sections before each of its meetings asking for suggestions for subjects to be placed upon the agenda; and

the agenda, when complete, shall be circulated to the National Sections.

VII. Members of the International Congress

The members of the International Congress shall be the Executive Committee, the Consultative Committee, and not more than twenty Delegates and ten Alternates from each National Section. Delegates and Alternates must be members of National Sections which they represent.

VIII. International Bureau

The Bureau of the League shall be established by the Executive Committee at any place where the League of Nations has its headquarters, and one or more members of the Executive Committee must always be in residence in order to conduct the business.

IX. Interim Proposals

The National Sections are entitled at any time to make proposals to the Executive Committee for work or for additions to the program. The Executive Committee shall when possible submit such proposals to all National Sections for their consideration and for a referendum vote, but may in its discretion adopt or reject such proposals without so doing, giving reasons for its action to the Sections making the proposal.

X. Finance

Every National Section shall pay a yearly sum of 50 Swiss francs to the Bureau, and shall be expected besides to raise money for international work.

By-Laws

1. Associates

Individuals who signify their adherence to the Object of the League may join as Associates on payment of 25 Swiss francs annually. Such Associates have a right to receive literature and to attend Congresses of the League as visitors.

2. Admission of New Sections

New Sections may be admitted provisionally until the next meeting of the Congress.

Delegates

To the Congress

AUSTRALIA

Edith A. Waterworth, Hobart, Tasmania, Poet's Road.

AUSTRIA

Lili Dank-Werner, Vienna XIX, Vegagasse 9.

Lotte Heller, Vienna III, Ober Weichgärberstr. 8.

Yella Hertzka, Vienna XIX, Kaasgraben 19.

Dr. Renée Lovas, Vienna, 1 Hofburg Michaelerstiege.

Helène Scheu-Riesz, Vienna XIII, Larohegasse 3.

BELGIUM

Lucie Dejardin, Liège, Quai Ste. Barbe.

BULGARIA

Catherine P. Karavéloff, Sofia.

CANADA

Christine Ross Barker, Toronto, 2 Spadina Road.

Isa M. Byers, Toronto, 43 Walmsley Blvd.

Sarah Cunningham, Toronto, 1 Close Ave.

Ada Marean Hughes, Toronto, 47 Dundonald St.

Alice E. Loeb, Toronto, 154 Grenadier Road.

Hon. Agnes Macphail, Ottawa, House of Commons.

Ada A. McRae, Toronto, 48 Ross Hill Ave.

Isabel Somerset, Burlington, Ont.

Lucy Woodsworth, Ottawa, Care J. S. Woodsworth, M. P.,
House of Commons.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Maria Aull, Prague II, Mezibranská 3/I.

Milena Illová, Prague XII, Grégrova 6.

DENMARK

Elna Quistgaard, Korsør, Vyrehovedgaards Allée 22.

Clara Tybjerg, Copenhagen, Rosenvongets Side Allée 9.

FRANCE

Marcelle Capy, Paris, 131 Boulevard de Grenelle.

Gabrielle Duchêne, Paris, 10 Avenue Tokio.

Marguerite Dumont, Levallois Perret (near Paris), 13 Rue Kléber.

Andrée Jouve, Switzerland, École Nouvelle, "La Pelouse," s/Bex.

GERMANY

Dr. Anita Augspurg, Munich, Kaulbachstr. 12/I, Gartenhaus.

Gertrud Baer (temporary address, Altona/Elbe, 27 Pinneberger Chaussee).

Lida Gustava Heymann, Munich, Kaulbachstr. 12/I, Gartenhaus.

Auguste Kirchhoff, Bremen, Graf Moltkestr. 54.

Adèle Schmitz, Bremen, Am Dobben 117.

Dr. Margarete Stegmann, Berlin, Reichstag.

Johanna Wimmer, Duisberg.

GREAT BRITAIN

Lady Clare Annesley, London, International House, 55 Gower St., W. C. 1.

Dorothy Evans, London, International House, 55 Gower St., W. C. 1.

H. W. Horwill, London.

Eva M. Macnaghten, London, 29 Greycoat Gardens, S. W. 1.

Irma A. Richter, London, 20 Gordon Place, Kensington, W. 8.

W. Gladys Rinder, London, 7 Mecklenburgh Square, W. C.

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams, Stocksfield on Tyne, Low Bridges.

GREECE

Dr. Agnes Studitis, Athens (temporary address, Rochester, N. Y., 373 Court St.).

HUNGARY

Vilma Glücklich (Geneva, Switzerland, 6 Rue du Vieux-Collège).

Eugenie Miskolczy Meller, Budapest VII, Wesselényi utca 6.

Rosika Schwimmer (Chicago, Ill., 4740 Dorchester Ave.).

IRELAND

Marie Johnson, Dublin, 63 Edenvale Road, Ranelagh.

ITALY

Virginia Piatti-Tango, Florence, Via Ser Venturo, Monachi 9.

JAPAN

Kita Hasegawa, Tokyo, Dean at St. Hilda's.

Hiro Ohashi, Tokyo (Chicago, Ill., 1412 East 57th St.).

Y. Shoda, Tokyo.

Matsuyo Takizawa (New York, Columbia University).

NETHERLANDS

Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, The Hague, van Aerssenstraat 46.

Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann, Amsterdam, Daniel de Lange-
straat 14/III.

NORWAY

Lilian Holby, Vinderen i Aker.

Kaia Irgens, Bergen, Kalfarvee 50.

POLAND

J. Budinska-Tylicka, Warsaw, Wilcza 10.

SWEDEN

Ester Akesson-Beskow, Stockholm, Skeppsbron 32.

Klara Bergquist-Ericssen, Stockholm, Sveavägen 52.

Dr. Naima Sahlbom, Stockholm, Eriksbergsg. 13.

Matilda Widegren, Stockholm, Vastmannag. 14/IV.

Hanna Wijnblad, Stockholm, Storgatan 6.

SWITZERLAND

Marguerite Gobat, Gland, Vaud.

Dr. Gertrud Woker, Oberstampbach, Thunersee.

UKRAINE

Dr. Oksana Khrapka-Dragomanova (Paris, France, 139 Quai
d'Orsay).

Dr. Nadja Surowzowa (Vienna XIX, Austria, Chimanistr.
29/4).

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Louise W. Atkinson,* Detroit, Mich., 2011 Lawrence Ave.

Mariette Powers Benton, Philadelphia, Pa., 20 South 12th St.

Ella Boynton, Chicago, Ill., 211 East Ontario St.

Helen Cheever, Boston, Mass., Hotel Ludlow, St. James Ave.

Katherine Cumberson, San Francisco, Calif., 25 Speare St.

Rachel Davis DuBois, Pittman, N. J., 32 Grafton Ave.

Alice P. Gannett, Cleveland, Ohio, 1420 East 31st St.

Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood, New York City, 1225 Madison
Ave.

* Deceased June 5, 1924.

Alice Marion Holmes, Cambridge, Mass., 7 Concord Ave.
 Hannah C. Hull, Swarthmore, Pa., 504 Walnut Lane.
 Ida Jaffe, Cynwyd, Pa., 439 State Road.
 Lucy Biddle Lewis, Lansdowne, Pa., 504 South Lansdowne Ave.
 Lola Maverick Lloyd, Winnetka, Ill.
 Maude S. Odell, Washington, D. C., 2011 I St. N. W.
 Alice Thacher Post, Washington, D. C., 2513 12th St. N. W.
 Hon. Jeannette Rankin, Missoula, Mont.
 Annette Roberts, Milwaukee, Wis., 388 Lafayette St.
 Florence Trueblood Steere, Haverford, Pa.
 Maud C. Stockwell, Minneapolis, Minn., 3204 East 51st St.
 Florence G. Taussig, St. Louis, Mo., 4506 Maryland Ave.
 Mary Church Terrell, Washington, D. C., 1615 S St. N. W.
 Grace Hoffman White, New York City, 122 East 76th St.

Alternates

Fanny Fligelman Brin, Minneapolis, Minn., 2566 Lake of Isles Blvd.
 Helena S. Dudley,* Wellesley, Mass., 45 Leighton Road.
 Sophia H. Dulles,* Philadelphia, Pa., 313 South 22d St.
 Mabel E. Griswold, Madison, Wis., 1158 Sherman Ave.
 Agnes Brown Leach, New York City, 170 East 64th St.
 Lucia Ames Mead, Brookline, Mass., 19 Euston St.
 Edna Burd Merrill, Riverton, N. J., 309 Bank Ave.
 Dorothy North, Chicago, Ill., 60 Scott St.
 Anna Garlin Spencer,* New York City, 255 West 97th St.
 Mary Winsor, Haverford, Pa.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

AUSTRIA

Nie Wieder Krieg (No More War).

Yella Hertzka (also National Section Delegate), Vienna
 XIX, Kaasgraben 19.

CHINA

Boone University, Wuchang.

Olive Lindsay Wakefield.

* Served part time in place of Delegate not able to be present continuously.

GERMANY

Liga für Menschenrechte (League for the Rights of Man; formerly Bund Neues Vaterland—Association for a New Fatherland).

Wally Thielemann, Berlin.

GREAT BRITAIN

International Cooperative Alliance, London.

Agnes Warbasse (Brooklyn, N. Y.).

GUATEMALA

Representing the Government.

Marie Conchita Moulun (Asnières, Seine, France, 101 Rue du Bac).

LIBERIA

Representing the Government.

Marc Hayford.

PHILIPPINES

Manila Federation Women's Clubs.

Felicidad Alvares, Manila.

Josefa Llanes, Manila (New York City, Columbia University).

Catalina Occena (New York City, 1230 Amsterdam Ave.).

Petrona Ramos, Manila.

Inez S. Villa, Cebu, Cebu.

SWEDEN

Swedish Union of Female High School Teachers.

Matilda Widegren (also National Section Delegate), Stockholm, Vastmannag. 14/IV.

UNITED STATES

Federation of Women's Church Organizations of East Orange, N. J.

Mrs. W. C. Webster, East Orange, N. J., 179 Prospect St.

Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Arabella H. Miller, Elizabeth, N. J., 122 Magnolia Ave.

Caroline Roberts, Baltimore, Md., 2000 Mt. Royal Terrace.

Institute of International Education, New York City, 522 Fifth Ave.

Mary L. Waite.

International Order of Good Templars.

Laura R. Church, Washington, D. C., 420 Cathedral Mansions.

International Union for Voluntary Disarmament.

Erna Jüllig, Cambridge, Mass., 362 Harvard St.

I. O. T. S. of Illinois.

Mrs. Henry Newfield, Chicago, Ill., 4401 West End Ave.

Mothers' Peace Organization.

Louis Herrick Wall, Riverside, Conn., Lane's End.

Mothers' Protective League.

Mrs. E. Fischer, Philadelphia, Pa., 2905 Diamond St.

National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

Mary W. Ovington, New York City, 64 East 86th St.

National Temperance Society.

Charles Scanlon, Pittsburgh, Pa., Columbia Bank Building.

New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Caroline B. La Monte, Bound Brook, N. J.

Peace Committee Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends.

Anne Walton Pennell, Media, Pa.

Lydia B. Smedley, Philadelphia, Pa., 304 Arch St.

War Resisters' International.

J. Fletcher.

Women's City Club of Flushing, N. Y.

Theodora Faulk.

Women's City Club of Rochester, N. Y.

Mary T. L. Gannett.

World Alliance for International Friendship through Churches.

G. S. Barker, New York City, 70 Fifth Ave.

World Peace Society, New York City.

Mrs. E. Lilienthal, New York City, 324 West 103d St.

Mrs. Charles P. Soden, New York City, 1067 Fifth Ave.

Mrs. Henry Villard, New York City.

VISITORS

ANTILLEAN ISLANDS, BRITISH WEST INDIES

Ida Perry Johnson, St. Vincent (Chicago, Ill., 522 Bowen Ave.).

AUSTRIA

H. Dank, Vienna XIX, Vegagasse 9.

Dr. Gustav Scheu, Vienna XIII, Larohegasse 3.

BOLIVIA

Elena Calderon (Washington, D. C., 2027 Kalorama Road).

CANADA

Helen Fraser, Toronto.

CHINA

Anna Mei, Shanghai, 1 Young Allen Court.

Ru-djer L. Tang.

Chen Tong.

CUBA

Ione Van Gorder, La Lisa-Marianao-Quinta "El Cura."

ECUADOR

Dr. Pastoriza Flores (Baltimore, Md., Goucher College).

GERMANY

Emilie Baum, Wiesbaden.

Dr. Marta Küppersbusch, Velbert, Rhld.

INDIA

Grace J. Paul, Jaffna, Ceylon, Chunnakam.

E. M. Thillayampalam, Lucknow, Isabelle Thoburn College.

MEXICO

M. G. Conde de Avilá.

NORWAY

Signe Lund, Christiania.

PHILIPPINES

May S. Villa, Cebu, Cebu, 30 Maburi St.

TURKEY

Epaish Youssouf, Constantinople, Bachiktache.

**United States Members of the W. I. L., Other than Delegates,
Registered as in Attendance on the Congress,
Counted by States**

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|------------------------|------------|
| California ----- | 4 | Brought forward----- | 171 |
| Connecticut ----- | 2 | Montana ----- | 1 |
| District of Columbia----- | 77 | New Jersey ----- | 26 |
| Florida ----- | 2 | New York----- | 66 |
| Illinois ----- | 31 | North Carolina----- | 2 |
| Indiana ----- | 3 | Ohio ----- | 8 |
| Iowa ----- | 1 | Pennsylvania ----- | 57 |
| Louisiana ----- | 2 | Rhode Island----- | 1 |
| Maryland ----- | 9 | South Dakota----- | 1 |
| Massachusetts ----- | 23 | Vermont ----- | 3 |
| Michigan ----- | 10 | Virginia ----- | 1 |
| Minnesota ----- | 6 | Washington State ----- | 2 |
| Missouri ----- | 1 | West Virginia ----- | 3 |
| | | Wisconsin ----- | 15 |
| Carried forward----- | 171 | | |
| | | Total ----- | 357 |

Greetings

Greetings were received by the Congress from many friendly groups and associations. Among these were letters or telegrams from the World Committee of the Y. M. C. A. at Geneva; the War Resisters' International of Austria, of Germany, and of Great Britain; the Austrian Esperantist Peace Society; the Esperantist Section of the Peace Society of Prague, Czecho-Slovakia; the Esperanto Harmony Institute of New York; the Christian Trade Unions of Utrecht, Holland; the Federation of Ladies' Societies of Western Japan; from James Eads How, speaking for the Migratory Casual Workers; and from many of the W. I. L. Sections.

Greetings were also received from devoted members of the W. I. L. in many lands, and from many other friends. Among these were letters or cablegrams from Ellen Key and from Selma Lägerlof, of Sweden; from Henri La Fontaine, President of the Council of the International Peace Bureau at Bern; from Dr. Bertha Lutz, of Brazil; from Dr. Elena Ivanova, of Bulgaria; and from Professor L. Quidde, President of the German Peace Federation.

The Congress sent cable messages to Ellen Key, Selma Lägerlof, Kathleen D. Courtney, Catherine E. Marshall, Clara Ragaz, and H. M. Swanwick.

**New Officers and Executive Committee
of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Elected May, 1924**

Jane Addams, President.
Lida Gustava Heymann, Honorary Vice President.
Catherine E. Marshall, Vice President.
Gabrielle Duchêne, Vice President.
Vilma Glücklich, Secretary General.
Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann, Recording and Financial
Secretary.
Gertrud Baer.
Emily G. Balch.
Lucie Dejardin.
Marguerite Gobat.
Yella Hertzka.

International Headquarters: Maison Internationale,
6 Rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva, Switzerland.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Peace Missions

Committee continued.

Matilda Widegren, Chairman.

Gabrielle Duchêne.

Lida Gustava Heymann.

Dr. Olga Knischewsky.

Clara Ragaz.

Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams.

The following new members were added:

Zonia Baber.

Elena Landazuri.

Olga Misar.

Elin Wägner.

Special Work in Countries when War is being Waged or threatens to Break out

Committee continued.

Catherine E. Marshall, Chairman.

Relief of Children Suffering from War Conditions

Committee continued.

Andrée Jouve, Chairman.

Cooperation with League of Nations

Committee continued.

Catherine E. Marshall, Chairman.

National Minorities

Committee continued.

Catherine E. Marshall, Referent.

East European Commission

Committee continued.

Yella Hertzka, Chairman.

With delegates from the different nationalities represented.

Economic Questions in Relation to Peace

This Committee, which had previously been known as the Committee for Cooperation toward Ending Social Injustice, was continued, with power to add other members.

Yella Hertzka, Chairman.

Cahier Commission

Committee continued.

Gabrielle Duchêne, Chairman.

Dr. Anita Augspurg.

Kathleen D. Courtney.

Lucie Dejardin.

Vilma Glücklich.

Andrée Jouve.

Lola Maverick Lloyd.

Catherine E. Marshall.

Passive Resistance

Committee continued with power to add to its membership.

Carolena Wood, Chairman.

Lida Gustava Heymann.

Marguerite Gobat.

The Committee was instructed to add to its membership someone from India and someone from China.

Chemical Warfare

Committee appointed:

Dr. Gertrud Woker.

Dr. Naima Sahlbohm.

Ester Akesson-Beskow.

Laws Regarding Nationality of Married Women

Committee continued.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Referent.

Co-operation with Young People

Committee continued.

Gertrud Baer, Referent.

Summer Schools

Committee continued.

Andrée Jouve, Chairman.

Revision of School Textbooks

Committee continued.

Helène Scheu-Riesz, Chairman.

International Peace Day

Committee continued.

Thora Daugaard, Chairman.

Action Following the Congress

No More War Day

The Executive Committee recommended that the third Sunday in September be celebrated as No More War Day, since several other organizations have agreed upon this date.

Groups within National Sections

The Executive Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to propose a solution of the case of two groups of different nationality in one country. The opinion runs as follows: "The Sub-Committee recommends that the Executive Committee regard the question of the form of an internal organization as a question for each Section itself, and that it instruct the Geneva office to comply with the request of any National Section to send all official communications to more than one secretary when the form of organization of a National Section makes it useful."

Peace Mission Committee

At a meeting of the Peace Mission Committee, held in Chicago, May 30, 1924, it was decided that the committee should have two centers—one for the Eastern Hemisphere to be in Sweden, with Matilda Widegren, Chairman of the Committee, as head of the movement, and one for the Western Hemisphere, with Zonia Baber as Secretary.

It was also decided that, since the W. I. L. has a Committee for Eastern Europe, this Peace Mission Committee should concentrate its work on Western Europe—Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, France, Belgium, and Germany.

The tension area of the Americas is found at present in Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. It was suggested that work be commenced as soon as possible to ameliorate the tension in Nicaragua and the West Indies.

Opinion as to the Next Congress

The following Resolutions were voted at a meeting held on board the steamship Andania, June 15, 1924, with Yella Hertzka in the chair. The Resolutions are concerned with the technical organization and program of the next Congress, and were voted by Clare Annesley, J. Budinska-Tylicka, Marcelle Capy, Lotte Heller, Yella Hertzka, Milena Illová, Catherine P. Karavéloff, Dr. Oksana Khrapka-Dragomanova, Eugénie M. Meller, Dr. Nadja Surowzowa, Dr. Ethel M. N. Williams, and Dr. Gertrud Woker.

- (a) That the Agenda be sent to the Sections three months before the Congress. Once the Executive Committee has decided on the Agenda it cannot be changed on any pretext. Only urgent propositions can be added.
- (b) That at least two, but not more than three, questions for discussion must be placed on the Agenda for the Congress.
- (c) That during the Congress work should be carried on in Commissions and the resolutions taken should be proposed for discussion at the public sessions.
- (d) That in order to have more time for the work in Commissions and in order to avoid fatigue, there should only be meetings in the mornings; and there should be public meetings in the evenings for propaganda.

The above delegates ask the Sections for their opinions on this matter. They are of opinion that after ten years of existence, the W. I. L. P. F. should have a Congress not only for propaganda purposes, but also to enable the delegates to work together on the matter presented at the Congress, for example, the "Cahier de la Paix." Also that the delegates should have the opportunity of getting information about the work of the different Sections.

National Sections

Australia:

Victoria—Miss Eleanor M. Moore, 40 Evelina Road, Toorak, Melbourne.

Tasmania—Mrs. H. L. Bayly, "Runnymede," Newtown, near Hobart.

Queensland—Mrs. F. Hopkins, Rockhampton.

Austria:

Internationale Frauenliga, 1 Hofburg, Michaelertor, Vienna.

Political Group—Yella Hertzka, Kaasgraben 19, Vienna XIX.

Dr. Puchleitner, 12 Redtenbachergasse, Graz.

Frau Zweig-Winternitz, 5 Kapuzinerberg, Salzburg.

Belgium:

Mlle. Léonie La Fontaine, 41 Rue des deux Églises, Brussels.

Bulgaria:

Mme. Anna Théodorova (Secretary), 130 Boulevard Dandukoff, Sofia.

Canada:

Ontario—Alice E. Loeb, 154 Grenadier Road, Toronto.

British Columbia—Miss Laura E. Jamieson, 922 Rogers Bldg., Vancouver.

Czecho-Slovakia:

Frau Maria Aull, Mezibranská 3/I, Prague II.

Mme. Ottilie Hanauskova, Cechova 23, Prague.

Denmark:

Miss Thora Daugaard, 5 Hestermøllestraede, Copenhagen B.

France:

Mme. Andrée Jouve, École Nouvelle, "La Pelouse," s/Bex, Switzerland.

Germany:

Frl. Else Stadelmann, 27 Pinneberger Chaussée, Altona/Elbe.

Great Britain:

Miss Kathleen Courtney, 44 Upper Park Road, London, N. W. 3.

Miss Dorothy Evans, International House, 55 Gower St., London, W. C. 1.

Greece:

Mme. C. Parren, 44 Rue Épire, Athens.

Haiti:

Mme. Eugénie M. Sylvain, Avenue Christophe, Port-au-Prince.

Mme. Thérèse Hudicourt, Avenue de Sacré-Cœur, Port-au-Prince.

Hungary:

Mrs. Melanie Vambéry, Jozsef Ter. 9, Budapest.

Ireland:

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Italy:

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The New International Order

Report of the Cahier Commission, recommended by the
Congress to the National Sections for Study*

I. Principles

International Rights and Duties

War between nations is only one aspect of universal violence against which it is humanity's duty to fight. The world is not organized for Peace. Politically, national units with a longer or shorter history behind them, have failed to progress beyond the stage of selfish, or even aggressive, self-affirmation. Economically, there is competition between nations with the consequent war and waste, and at the same time, in all countries, the exploitation of the middle classes, the industrial workers and the peasants by capitalism.

The complexity and the interdependence of the mechanisms which regulate the life of human society are such that one cannot touch one part without disorganizing the whole. Therefore, a New International Order demands a complete reorganizing of the world, and Peace can come only as the result of such reorganization. We desire to set out here the minimum condi-

* This draft of a "Cahier," or Memorandum, on a New International Order, prepared by a special international Committee of the W. I. L. P. F. appointed for the purpose by the Executive Committee at its Dresden meeting in 1923, was presented to and briefly discussed by the Congress, which did not adopt it, but voted that it should be sent to Brussels over the names of such Sections of the W. I. L. P. F. as should decide to adhere to it. It is to be noted that it covers only the first four sections of the contemplated plan, namely: General Principles of the New International Order; Its Political Aspects; Its Economic Aspects; and Relation to the Life of the Individual. The W. I. L. P. F. Committee on "Cahiers de la Paix" proposes to print it as a first fascicule or pamphlet, and to follow this with a second, covering the fifth section of the plan—Steps toward Realization. A number of contributions from National Sections and individuals dealing with the subject of the first pamphlet were received and collated by the Committee, though some came too late to be used. The Committee urgently invites contributions on the subject of the second pamphlet; these should be addressed to Madame Andrée Jouve, care Madame Duchêne, 10 Ave. Tokio, Paris.

tions which will make Peace possible. It is for technicians and specialists to find the methods of applying these various principles.

To effect this reorganization the rights of human beings to live and develop individually and in spontaneous groups, must be considered as of first importance, since the grouping into nations should be a transitory phase. As long as nations do exist, as a matter of fact, certain principles, as fundamental as the "Rights of Man," must be recognized by world opinion. These principles are not new, but they remain a dead letter notwithstanding the evidence of their truth offered by events.

1. Nations are equal in rights. Whether rich and powerful, or small, each nation without exception is entitled to justice and respect.

2. All nations are interdependent. What injures one injures all. What benefits one benefits all. At first glance the facts appear to be against this principle. To be a nationalist is precisely to deny it. Nevertheless we affirm that all that has happened during the past few years corroborates it. The prosperity of one people based on the misery of its neighbors can be only superficial and ephemeral. The interdependence of peoples is such that except for a short-sighted political view it can be maintained that the interest of each nation is identical with the common interest.

A certain limitation of national liberty necessarily follows this principle of international solidarity. Just as the individual finds his liberty limited by the interests of his neighbors, so a nation will find its particular interests limited by interests of other nations.

The general interest will be best safeguarded by the just and reciprocal balance of particular interests.

It is at once the duty and the interest of nations to help one another until the time when they shall unite in a single federation. Mutual helpfulness is to their interest because of their actual interdependence. The duty of mutual helpfulness is born of faith in a human brotherhood which cannot be limited by frontiers.

Not only is it contrary both to the interest and the duty of nations to harm each other, it is their advantage and their duty to collaborate. Their common aim is to fight together against

the scourges of nature and the evils which man has brought upon the earth, and to establish together conditions of life favorable to the development of the highest possibilities of human nature.

II. The International Political Order

An international political order can only be peacefully established if each nation consents to limit, little by little, its absolute and jealous sovereignty and to remain independent only in questions which do not concern the entire human community.

Nations—peoples as well as governments—must be animated by good-will and acquire the habit of working together. Their cooperation must be positive and active, and there must be a truly international authority.

Without this essential condition an International Court of Justice, no matter how powerful or impartial as between nations it might be, would not suffice to secure a permanent peace because it would not abolish the innumerable causes of conflict that at present are constantly springing from imperialistic rivalries.

Whatever may be the form of this international government it must not become either autocratic or tyrannical, but must always remain, as must the national governments, under a strict and unremitting democratic control. The disadvantages of bureaucracy could be minimized or even avoided by a frequent selection of competent and active men and by making it always possible to recall representatives and officials.

A. Organization. In order to distinguish the central international organism which we desire from the existing League of Nations, which is so far neither universal nor democratic, either in its representation or its constitution, we will call it the "League of Peoples." It is possible that this League of Peoples may develop through a transformation of the present League of Nations.

B. Composition. The League of Peoples will represent all peoples without exception, not merely a few nations. It will represent the peoples directly, and not merely the governments that a more or less passing reaction may have imposed upon them by force or by surprise. It represents the peoples without distinction, women as well as men.

In order to really represent the people the Assembly—or whatever it may be called—must include, not only representatives of

governments and parliaments, of majorities and minorities, but representatives of different groups of workers, manual and intellectual, and this for two reasons:

First: A central organization cannot persist without the confidence of the workers, since it has to defend their rights both as men and as producers.

Second: This central organization cannot in the complex conditions of modern life limit itself to political action since the causes of war are now more economic than political.

It is, therefore, essential that both producers and consumers, men and women, should be directly represented in it and have a direct share of control without any special class of producers being able to arrogate excessive power to itself. They are already organized into trade unions, employers' organizations and different organizations of manual and intellectual workers, economic associations, cooperative societies both of producers and of consumers, the latter especially representing the interests of housekeepers, in the International Commissions for the distribution of raw materials and the regulation of transportation and world finance, etc. These organizations, especially the last (which is still in a very elementary stage), should develop largely, and their delegates should form the economic section of the League of Peoples by which production, distribution of commodities, and world finance will be regulated and controlled. National and international production and distribution of commodities would thus no longer depend on the profit of individuals but upon the common needs of the human community.

For the international political order to function most effectively the internal organization of the states must be as just and free as possible, and the citizens liberated from the tyranny of bureaucracies must be in a position to exercise control over the acts of delegates subject to recall at any moment.

This result can be obtained by a mode of representation analogous to that proposed for the League of Peoples.

Powers

A. Legislative Power. The Assembly made really representative of the Peoples in the way indicated above will have the power to make a code of world laws based on the principles of universal morality. The Assembly must first of all effect a liquidation of the past, namely:

1. Revise all treaties in force and alter whatever in them is incompatible with the covenant of the Society of Peoples.

2. Publish and revise all existing secret treaties.

3. See that the treaties are so executed that the right of Peoples to live and to develop according to justice shall not be curtailed, even if these peoples are minorities incorporated at the moment in foreign national states.

At the head of the code of world laws which it will then have to establish must stand the **Outlawry of War**. To declare that war is no longer recognized as a legitimate method of settling disputes between peoples is to decree the total disarmament of all nations under strict, impartial, international control.

B. Executive Power. Executive power will be in the hands of a Council directly chosen by the whole of the bodies represented in the Assembly. That is to say, this Council is to represent, not the governments of some of the great powers, but the different categories of manual and intellectual workers and consumers, both men and women. Special departments of Labor (agricultural, industrial, and intellectual), departments of World Finance and World Trade, departments of Posts and Transports, of Public Health, etc., will be charged with the organization of a state of peace.

C. Judicial Power. The judicial power shall be vested in the Court of Justice empowered to settle differences between nations. This court will not be composed of officials nor solely of jurists, but will be assisted by an enlarged "jury" to represent the various material and moral interests of the public, as against the State and professional jurists.

D. Economic Power. A League of Peoples so composed, representing the concrete, economic forces of the world and not those abstract personalities—nations, must have a new power—economic power. At the present time it is necessary to have a world government which is not only political but also financial and economic, the functions of which are taken up later.

Sanctions

The League of Peoples will not have any armed forces to enforce its laws. Having disarmed the nations and keeping control of their disarmament, it could not be armed itself. It will not make use of hunger blockades or any blockade as a means of pressure on a nation rebellious to the new order, for

it is the innocent who always pay with their misery and death for the fault of the few, and the innocent will be represented as they are a part of the mass of consumers directly represented.

It may be that the ties of world solidarity becoming stronger and stronger, rebellious peoples will suffer so much by isolation that they will hesitate before placing themselves outside the Concert of Peoples.

Limitations

The power of the League of Peoples will be limited by what concerns the general interest. It will not touch the innumerable and varied interests of ethnical, linguistic, cultural, professional, and other groups which give the world its richness and variety. In all the domains on which depend the maintenance and progress of diverse civilizations, among the concrete realities in the midst of which men move, a new international order, far from tending to tyrannical centralization and uniformity, would be able to give to more or less widely extended groups an autonomy far greater than do the national governments of our day.

Therefore, it is not a question of weakening the special characteristics nor suppressing the differences which lie at the basis of love of country and give it its value as a matter of feeling. This sentiment, purified of every element of politics and hatred, would even develop more freely and fruitfully if the small and large countries were no longer constantly either threatened or else aggressive as they are under the present order.

III. The International Economic Order

The League of Peoples will represent the economic forces of the world. It will comprise an economic section, and will add to the three ordinary divisions of powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—a fourth, the economic.

In this field as in the political, the Society of Peoples must first liquidate the past:

1. It must first solve the question of reparations and of inter-allied debts by an international agreement based on justice and the general interest;
2. Institute an international currency which will end the exchange crisis and speculation, facilitate business, and regenerate international finance;

3. Abolish customs barriers and frontier formalities for travelers and goods, and end tariff wars between nations.

All this is possible only if the Economic Section of the Society of Peoples is empowered by its constituents to take over the direction of the economic system from the secret and irresponsible oligarchies which now hold it. Only an international authority can accomplish this, since most of the big trusts now have international ramifications and international power. A systematic organization of production and trade, to which they would be compelled to submit, would eliminate the menace of their rivalries, while at the same time it would have the advantage of doing away with the present waste and anarchy.

In order to realize this organization it would be necessary to determine:

1. The needs of each country in foodstuffs and the agricultural production of the world, so as to establish an equilibrium which would keep the peoples from the famine and want which still afflict some of the populations of Europe, Africa, Asia, etc.

2. The needs of each country in the raw materials needed for manufacture and an inventory of sources of these, so as to increase production and suppress one of the causes of unemployment.

3. This would make possible a more complete and judicious use of the world's natural resources and their fairer distribution. In order to avoid monopoly and speculation it will doubtless be necessary to protect from the fluctuations of supply and demand, essential foodstuffs, as well as the sources of power and the raw materials necessary to maintain and advance civilization. The Economic Section of the Society of Peoples will be empowered to investigate how far it may be necessary to internationalize these two sources of wealth, and under what conditions every country may have free access to them.

No customs barriers, no prohibitive tariff, no export bounties should hamper the circulation and fair distribution of products conducive to human welfare. Money saved by the suppression of war budgets should permit States to disregard this source of revenue.

To internationalize the means of transport is the logical consequence of these measures. The result will be a much more homogeneous organization and an improvement, completion and standardization of railways and waterways. It will be the same

for the Postal Service, for weights and measures, and in general in all material domains where it proves to be advantageous.

This transformation of the economic order (which in line with the evolution now going on tends to limit National Sovereignities in the common interest), implies a general reorganization of labor on a fairer basis, a reorganization uniform and under the control of the Society of Peoples.

The new World Charter of Labor should require the application of the following principles:

All workers, whether in their own country, or in any other, and without distinction of sex, nationality, or race, should have free access to work. In all countries legal protection of the workers shall be the same for nationals and foreigners. Judicious vocational guidance and adequate vocational training shall be organized. The conditions of work, pay, insurance, health, morals, and safety, coordinated organization of seasonal work in order to do away with periodic unemployment, a working schedule arranged with obligatory weekly and annual rest periods adapted to the age and the individual case, shall be standardized, so that all workers may lead a healthy life and satisfy, not only their material necessities, but also their moral and intellectual needs.

The object is not to obtain from the worker the maximum output he is capable of without regard to his physical and moral needs, but after thorough scientific study to make rational use of his capacities with a minimum of fatigue and exhaustion for the individual and a maximum of profit for the community.

These minimum conditions will be obligatory upon all employers, individual or corporate, and will be under the supervision of the Economic Section of the Society of Peoples, until the time comes when the sources of labor (soil and subsoil, and the instruments of industry and commerce) shall be owned directly by those who work them.

This will outlaw, not only political wars between nations, but also the economic conflict, which is at the same time domestic and interstate, and the costs of which are borne entirely by the workers. The boycotting of bad work and bonuses offered for excellence of production should be able to give back to labor a dignity which neither capitalism nor protection have prevented it from losing.

IV. The International Order and the Life of the Individual

The ultimate object of every political or economic organization is the safeguarding and perfecting of the individual, who alone is a reality and whose suffering and joy, action and thought, make up the life of the world.

It is only in a new international order, suppressing political and economic wars, that individual life can be respected. Guarantees of liberty (individual liberty, liberty of conscience and opinion) limited only by the liberty of others, should be secured to the citizens of the Society of Peoples as well as to the citizens of national units, guarantees implied by the political order above defined, and long ago set out in the various *habeas corpus* acts and "Declarations of the Rights of Man" of civilized peoples.

The collaboration of all the peoples united into a single community should besides increase the forces which are at man's disposal in his struggle against the scourges of nature and disease, and his efforts to protect the weak.

A. It will be the League of Peoples which must organize an International Public Health Service. It will be the duty of this Service to organize with all possible speed the necessary assistance in case of earthquakes, floods, and other catastrophes. It must work for the prevention, alleviation, and abolition of epidemics, using the most efficient methods of modern science. It can take preventive measures to bring about improvement of sanitary conditions in cities and in the country to the great benefit of their comfort and health, to suppress slums and construct garden cities with healthy and comfortable houses.

For emergency work, in one country or another, voluntary doctors and nurses, hygienists and constructors of all kinds, may be recruited from the staffs of a new International Social Service to which for the common benefit men and women of good-will may wish to devote a year of their youth.

The organization for preventive medicine will be connected with the institutions for the protection of mothers and children. Maternity being considered as a social service, the rights of the mother will be safeguarded and considered as equal to the rights of the father. She will be assisted in the accomplishment of her task, whether or not she is solely dependent on herself.

The principle of the International Save the Children organization—"The human community recognizes its duty towards every

child; every child must be put into a position to develop physically and morally"—shall be accepted and applied by the League of Peoples wherever a general improvement of political and economic conditions has not yet given to the children what they need in preparation for life.

A complete system of social insurance will secure the rights of all workers, men and women, to rest and nursing under the most normal conditions when they are no longer able to work.

B. A League of Peoples would not last long if it were only a business association. For the organization of the world moral forces must be enlisted.

The political and economic community of mankind will not really exist until and unless a new spirit of mutual comprehension of good-will, active collaboration in the service of the common ideals, replaces the ignorance, chauvinism, and the spirit of rivalry and hatred which still set the peoples against one another.

1. The International Spirit

In all countries there is a minority of people who are internationally minded, citizens of the world. They are the guardians of the new idea. In order that they should increase in number they must know one another, they must cooperate, and radiate influence with increasing strength. They would be helped to do so by the international development of large cultural and scientific associations, by the establishment of laboratories, research centers, libraries, international exhibitions, etc., for scientists, thinkers, and artists, where they could become acquainted with each other and unite the result of their work. Among other advantages of this continuous intellectual cooperation for the improvement of life there might develop a control over inventions, placing them at the service of the entire community and forbidding their use for purposes of destruction. We may even foresee the birth of an International City where these pioneers would be united through the convincing power of experience.

2. The Churches

Since the founders of all the great religions have preached the same ideal of peace and brotherhood all churches should unite to work for its realization on earth.

3. The Press

The venal press which in all countries disseminates its paid-for lies would collapse with the fall of the form of political and

economic organization which supports it. There might then arise side by side with a local press dealing with the cultural and material interests of the various countries, a vast informative press which without being the slavish organ of the world government, would set forth and discuss events and problems from the point of view of the League of Peoples and of the general interests of humanity.

Severe penalties could be inflicted and public withdrawals required in the case of journalists responsible for false news and calumnies.

But although it is necessary to fight against the dissemination of one-sided information, it would be dangerous to limit freedom of opinion, without which there could be no progress in the world.

4. Education

Yet the growth of a new International Spirit cannot be accomplished in one generation. A new method of education must create it, little by little. The reform of education already begun in certain educational groups must be rapidly applied to all countries.

The child should not be brought up as the instrument of a political, religious, or even a pedagogic party. His intellectual and moral formation must follow the needs and progressive interests of his physical and mental development, in accordance with the most recent discoveries regarding the physiology and psychology of the child. "Active Schools" where the pupil does not passively receive knowledge, but has opportunities to freely exercise all his faculties and to practice living in a healthy and harmonious environment, will receive, without pay, boys and girls until the age for vocational guidance, training, and specialization. These schools will have no other aim than that of giving to the human body and soul the surroundings and nourishment favorable to their complete development.

It is only by overstepping on every side the narrow limits of present-day education that it will be possible to produce individuals, at the same time rooted in the culture and ways of their own race, and endowed with a spirit free from all prejudices, curious as to all that is and all that happens—fraternal souls, world citizens.

The child will be taught that love of one's neighbor is not

limited to his own race, his own nation, or his own class, any more than is the duty actively to serve the community, and that in social life, as well as in individual life, aggressive pride, destructive selfishness, and violence of all kinds, are enemies to be overcome by kindness and uprightness, since there is no public or political morality distinct from or opposed to a high human morality. There are only eternal truths, unanimously repeated by the sages of all times and all countries.

As long as men do not recognize that all are subject to this law of disinterestedness and generosity which goes beyond strict justice; as long as they will not work to realize it by a common effort in their inner life and in their private relations, as well as in their public life, the external transformation of the world will not bring the expected benefits.

Human ideas are constantly changing and evolving, and in order that human progress may be accomplished institutions must also change and develop. The things of the spirit must develop alongside material things so that the hope of a lasting Peace may be born amongst reconciled humanity.

Bibliography

The Works of Francis Delaisi. The "Ustica" publications.* Wells, H. G., The Salvaging of Civilization. Count Harry Kessler, The League of Nations as it Ought to be. Resolutions of the various congresses of the International Chamber of Commerce, of the League for Free Trade, of the League against Unemployment, etc., etc. International Labor Charter presented to the Peace Conference (Paris, 1919) by the "Comité Feminin International du Travail."

* See footnote on page 32.

Financial Statement

The accounts of the W. I. L. P. F. are kept at the Geneva office and audited every six months by an authorized Swiss accountant. Since the time of the Conference at The Hague in December, 1922, however, certain funds have been kept in Amsterdam, where it seemed more advantageous to bank them; and for these the accounts have been kept separately in Dutch florins by Madame van Wulfften-Palthe, acting as treasurer for Madame Ramondt-Hirschmann, Financial Secretary.

Both sets of accounts are filed in the International Office at Geneva and are available there, but since, separately (one in Swiss francs and one in Dutch florins), they give no intelligible picture of the League's finances, the undersigned have combined them in one report. They have likewise combined into one the financial reports of the Congress in Washington and the Summer School in Chicago, so as to give a single report of the two international meetings of May, 1924.

JANE ADDAMS.

EMILY GREENE BALCH.

FINANCIAL REPORT FROM JUNE 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1921 (Seven Months)

| RECEIVED | | EXPENDED | |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| | | In Swiss francs | |
| On hand June 1, 1921 *--- | 8,628.86 | Salaries (regular staff)----- | 13,520.00 |
| Contributions of | | Office: supplies, postage, | |
| National Sec- | | telephone, etc.----- | 2,463.59 |
| tions ----- | 48,932.25 | Rent: Sept. 1 to Dec. 31, | |
| Fees of Associate | | 1921 ----- | 923.34 |
| Members ----- | 1,563.15 | On account Vienna Con- | |
| Gifts ----- | 127.30 | gress ----- | 2,500.30 |
| For fund for Bal- | | On account Vienna Con- | |
| kan journeys -- | 361.30 | gress Report----- | 1,000.00 |
| Sale of printed | | Printing and postage----- | 774.50 |
| matter ----- | 343.40 | Purchases: filing case and | |
| Salzburg Summer | | typewriter ----- | 545.60 |
| School Advance | | Prizes, Salzburg Summer | |
| from Geneva | | School ----- | 250.00 |
| office repaid---- | 780.25 | Special salaries and ex- | |
| Balance, to consti- | | penses in connection | |
| tute a fund for | | with Assembly of | |
| preparation of | | League of Nations and | |
| future Summer | | Conference on Russian | |
| Schools ----- | 2,750.95 | famine ----- | 2,915.40 |
| Interest ----- | 226.55 | Library (subscriptions to | |
| Total income ----- | 55,085.15 | papers) ----- | 56.40 |
| | | Loss on exchange----- | 376.72 |
| | | Total expenses----- | 25,325.85 |
| | | Balance on hand Dec. 31, | |
| | | 1921 ----- | 38,388.16 |
| | <u>63,714.01</u> | | <u>63,714.01</u> |

* See Vienna Congress Report, page 318.

FINANCIAL REPORT JANUARY 1, 1922, TO DECEMBER 31, 1922

In Swiss francs

| RECEIVED | EXPENDED |
|--|---|
| On hand, Jan. 1, 1922-----38,388.16 | Salaries -----24,537.00 |
| Contributions of National Sections -----3,424.81 | Office: supplies, postage, telephone, etc.-----11,436.66 |
| Fees from Associate Members-----6,844.33 | Rent to Sept. 1, 1922-----1,861.66 |
| Gifts -----5,804.75 | On account Hague Conference -----2,403.10 |
| Special contribution toward Vienna Report-----576.25 | Lugano Summer School-----9,159.35 |
| Printed matter, sale and subscriptions -----602.46 | Freiburg Meeting of Executive Committee---235.48 |
| Sale of Vienna Report -----241.00 | Library and books-----158.50 |
| Profit on Maison Internationale -1,182.90 | Printed matter, bulletins, etc., printing and posting -----937.15 |
| On account European lecture tour in U. S.: repaid by Washington Office -----2,550.00 | Vienna Congress Report, balance of cost-----1,040.00 |
| Refunds: telephone, supplies, etc. -----144.20 | Lecture by Mme. Duhamel 406.50 |
| Sale of furnishings of old Amsterdam office --18.96 | Purchase of multigraphing machine -----294.00 |
| Second-hand book sale -----45.00 | Total expenses-----52,469.40 |
| Interest -----28.85 | Balance on hand Dec. 31, 1922 -----8,630.82 |
| Profit on exchange 1,248.55 | |
| Total income -----22,712.06 | |
| 61,100.22 | 61,100.22 |

FINANCIAL REPORT JANUARY 1, 1923, TO JUNE 30, 1923

In Swiss francs

| RECEIVED | EXPENDED |
|---|---|
| On hand Dec. 31, 1922-----8,630.82 | Salaries -----9,725.00 |
| Contributions from National Sections -----56,982.16 | Office expenses -----4,822.63 |
| Fees of Associate Members -----5,799.22 | Printed matter, Bulletins, etc. -----2,702.05 |
| Gifts -----5,085.10 | On account Summer School in Czecho-Slovakia -----283.50 |
| Sale and subscriptions, Bulletins, etc. -----170.32 | On account Hague Conference -----2,072.10 |
| Profit on exchange 496.28 | Total expenses -----19,605.28 |
| Total income -----68,533.08 | Balance on hand July 1, Geneva Office -----18,960.59 |
| 77,163.90 | Balance on hand July 1, banked at The Hague--38,598.03 |
| | 77,163.90 |

CAPITAL ACCOUNT, AUDITORS' ESTIMATES, JUNE 30, 1923**In Swiss francs**

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Office furnishings and furniture of the Maison Internationale--- | 3,008.30 |
| Library ----- | 432.35 |
| Foreign money not counted in cash balance, value estimated---- | 738.82 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 4,179.47 |

**FINANCIAL REPORT OF CONFERENCE, THE HAGUE,
DECEMBER 7-10, 1922****In Dutch florins****RECEIPTS**

| |
|--------------------------------------|
| Contribution, Holland--fl. 6,151.745 |
| Headquarters receipts ---- 945. |
| Contributions National |
| Sections -----3,829.095 |

EXPENSES

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Postage ----- | fl. 976.485 |
| Printing ----- | 1,059.215 |
| Stationery ----- | 322.06 |
| Bureau (rent Sept.-Dec.)-- | 100. |
| Telephone ----- | 62.42 |
| Salaries ----- | 1,647.50 |
| Pax pins and badges----- | 182.75 |
| Expenses before the Conference: England, France, Belgium, and Holland--- | 736.42 |
| Traveling expenses and visas, low valuta countries ----- | 1,577.59 |
| Fuel (bureau) ----- | 15.30 |
| Sundries ----- | 81.99 |
| Returning French literature to Paris----- | 46.45 |
| Envoys ----- | 1,779.97 |
| Halls ----- | 1,014.80 |
| Reception, Wittebrug----- | 250. |
| Advertisements and posters ----- | 233.97 |
| Typewriting machines before and during the Conference ----- | 343.80 |
| Tips (Hotel Wittebrug)-- | 138.90 |
| Telegrams and long distance telephone ----- | 155.80 |
| Sundries ----- | 110.69 |
| Balance in hand----- | 89.73 |

fl. 10,925.84

fl. 10,925.84

(Signed) C. RAMONDT-HIRSCHMANN.

April 1, 1923.

FINANCIAL REPORT OF CONGRESS AND SUMMER SCHOOL
MAY, 1924

In dollars

| RECEIPTS | EXPENSES |
|---|---|
| General contributions from Branches and individuals, U. S. Section-----\$18,360.10 International President's Special Fund -----10,280.00 Chicago Branch, Summer School Fund -----3,782.35 Fees, sale literature, etc.---1,260.81 Interest on bank deposits_ 8.54 | Salaries, Nov. 1, 1923, to July 1, 1924-----\$4,132.62 Printing, literature, and stationery -----4,044.80 Travel for organizing Con- gress -----1,660.09 Publicity -----834.82 Postage -----803.98 Telephone, telegraph, and cable -----550.36 Supplies and equipment---753.93 New York expenses-----317.81 Stenographic reports ----609.50 Speakers' fees and ex- penses -----1,695.10 Rent (offices and halls)---722.00 Duplicating and typing---242.97 Steamship passages for certain European and Oriental delegates and visitors -----8,650.69 Entertainment of dele- gates and visitors-----3,223.98 Printing Congress Report_1,550.00 "Pax Special" -----3,540.49 Miscellaneous -----358.66 |
| Total receipts ----- <u>\$33,691.80</u> | Total disbursements---\$33,691.80 |



**Peace Portal on the boundary between Canada and the United States.
Situating on the Pacific Highway between Vancouver
and Seattle, near Blaine, Washington.**

